

The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY; JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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The Revolution.

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DEACONESSES IN PLYMOUTH CHURCH.

ALARMED with the abrupt "farewell" in the *Independent* last week, we hastened to the hearthstone of its editor, to feel his political pulse; to ascertain in what longitude and latitude he was steering, and to learn whether we were, indeed, as he says, growing "conservative." The result of a long conversation reinstated us in the opinion, that "THE REVOLUTION," is, by no means, less radical than the *Independent*, and that there is no special ground for immediate hostilities.

Politics disposed of, Mr. Tilton proposed a game of chess, to decide the superiority of sex. With the fate of all Eve's daughters resting on our shoulders, we commenced the game with fear and trembling, but as we proceeded, we became somewhat more assured, though vacillating between hope and fear, until, at the ghastly hour of night, the game was closed; when lo! with noiseless steps, a long line of sceptered kings and queens, of gilded knights, and mitred bishops, moved slowly round about and crowned the victor with a royal diadem. (Who?)

The next morning, in company with Theodore Tilton and his charming wife, we joined Plymouth Church in an excursion on the "Magenta," to West Point. As the boat was densely crowded with men, women and children, and the unhappy "Magenta" had but one wheel in working order, we had a very leisurely sail of six hours up the Hudson. However, as the day was fine, the company varied, and the scenery as bold and beautiful as ever, the hours passed pleasantly away.

Being introduced to a succession of the Deacons of Plymouth Church, we began to summon up our old memories of the longer and shorter Westminster Catechism, of Zimmerman on Solitude, and Bickersteath on Prayer, of the arguments on free ordination, total depravity, original sin, and eternal damnation, but we soon found that all this ecclesiastical preparation was quite superfluous, for the good deacons, like their gifted and genial pastor, were accustomed to wander outside these theological deserts into the sunshine of social life, art, science, literature, politics, and Woman's Rights.

In pursuance of this last deeply interesting and inexhaustible topic, these good deacons went so far as to propose, that at the next church election, some deaconesses should be duly installed in Plymouth church. When Mr. Beecher came on board from his country-seat in Peekskill, in company with his daughter and

Mrs. Moses Beach, of the *Sun*, this proposition was made to him, and we are happy to inform our readers that it received his most hearty approval, whereupon several ladies of that church declared themselves ready to accept the office. So it is quite probable that by the time the world ceases to wonder at the women of Paraguay in battle array, history, by way of a new sensation, will chronicle some feminine pillars in Plymouth church.

As Mr. Beecher has maintained the most radical position on this question of any man in the nation of late years, it is fitting that this grand step in the right direction should be first taken in the church under his jurisdiction. Mr. Beecher was looking remarkably well, and as he now says, "that he thinks women will vote in his day," we could contemplate his ruddy complexion, vigorous frame, and promise of many years on the earth, with none of that grief that we have felt on former occasions, at his probable longevity, when he used to say that "the good time was coming for the enfranchisement of woman, but he did not expect to see it in his day." As we listened to Mr. Beecher's opinions on the problem of reconstruction, we could but regret that he remains a silent spectator of our political struggles in an hour when the nation has need of the outspoken wisdom of its most thoughtful men. But this is one of the penalties the people pay for crucifying their best thinkers whenever they differ from the popular will.

We found West Point as beautiful as ever, and as we approached its shores, pleasant memories of the long past crowded upon us. There, in our girlish days, with brave generals, and gay cadets, we danced until the midnight hours. There we sailed by moonlight, singing, with our light guitar, of love and freedom,—climbed the rocks to see the glories of the rising and the setting sun, and watch the steamboats on their winding way. The majestic Hudson, the rocks, the hills, the grim cannon frowning as of old on the bold Britons who dared invade our soil, are all there still; but where are they who trod with us those paths,—into whose loving eyes we gazed with rapture,—into whose ears we poured our youthful joys—whose voices echoed o'er the hills in chorus with our own—silent and still they sleep! Some on the far-off outposts near the sea, and some on our Southern plains where they died for liberty.

Seated in a beautiful lookout, Mr. Tilton read to us some choice passages from one of the British poets, for while most of the company had been lading themselves with provisions for the mortal man, he had put into his pocket a small volume with which to feed our hungry souls, and we found his contribution a most excellent condiment for the sandwiches, rolls, and cakes.

The return voyage stretching far into the morning hours, might have been wearisome to those of us on the shady side of fifty, but for the persistent merriment and wit of Mr. Tilton

and the worthy deacons, and the discordant notes of juveniles in broken slumbers on hard benches might have vexed our ears, but for the spirited singing of the choir, and the marshal music of our band echoing on the hill-tops as we sailed along. We must not forget to say, that this entertainment was given by the "Plymouth Young People's Association," of which Horatio King, Esq., is President. We will tell our readers more of this admirable association at some future time.

GNATS AND CAMELS.

WOMAN surely should not aspire to the law making, or law executing power. Her wisdom could never invent disentanglements like the following:

It was necessary, a short time since, to prove in Michigan that a man had murdered a little son by his first wife, and this could only be done by the testimony of his second wife. According to Michigan law the testimony of his wife could not be received. The difficulty was surmounted by proving that when she married him she had another husband living. Though thus guilty of bigamy she was not her husband's wife, her evidence was received, and in consequence the man was convicted.

Or how could any woman solve such a difficulty as this? It is in the *Chicago Liberal*:

"Swear an Atheist? Upon what will you swear him?" asks a writer.

To which I reply, although I am not an Atheist; swear a Christian! Upon what will you swear him? Not by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth for it is his footstool; nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king; nor by the head, for you cannot make one hair white or black, see Matt ch. v. : 33, 34, 35. Upon what then, will you swear him? Why upon a book, which says, "swear not at all!"

Woman should not meddle with things above her. It takes men, male citizens, to work algebra like this.

GEN. GRANT'S ECONOMY.—Congress proposed to reduce army expenses by reducing the army. Gen. Grant said, leave that to me under the present law. His plan is to discharge the poorly paid privates, but keep the number of regiments, with their well salaried officers, unchanged! If fighting is to be done, the soldiers can be returned by enlistment or draft, but for political purposes, only the officers are necessary. The *New York Times*, tells us Congress concurred with the General, and took no farther action.

Shelly somewhere says:

"War is a game, which, were their subjects wise,
Kings could not play at."

Such a policy as this is part of the game, if the people were but wise enough to see it.

THE trustees of the "Eclectic Medical College," of New York city, have resolved to establish a class for female students at their next term, with professors of their own sex. Several ladies have received diplomas from this institution, and are now engaged in successful and lucrative practice.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

BY MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT—1790.

CHAPTER II.

THE PREVAILING OPINION OF A SEXUAL CHARACTER DISCUSSED.

(Continued from last week.)

WOMEN ought to endeavor to purify their hearts; but can they do so when their uncultivated understandings make them entirely dependent on their senses for employment and amusement, when no noble pursuit sets them above the little vanities of the day, or enables them to curb the wild emotions that agitate a reed over which every passing breeze has power? To gain the affections of a virtuous man, is affection necessary?

Nature has given woman a weaker frame than man; but, to ensure her husband's affections, must a wife, who, by the exercise of her mind and body, while she was discharging the duties of a daughter, wife, and mother, has allowed her constitution to retain its natural strength, and her nerves a healthy tone, is she, I say, to condescend to use art, and feign a sickly delicacy, in order to secure her husband's affections? Weakness may excite tenderness, and gratify the arrogant pride of man; but the lordly caresses of a protector will not gratify a noble mind that pants for and deserves to be respected. Fondness is a poor substitute for friendship!

In a seraglio, I grant that all these arts are necessary; the epicure must have his palate tickled, or he will sink into apathy; but have women so little ambition as to be satisfied with such a condition? Can they supinely dream life away in the lap of pleasure, or in the languor of weariness, rather than assert their claim to pursue reasonable pleasures, and render themselves conspicuous by practising the virtues which dignify mankind. Surely she has not an immortal soul who can loiter life away, merely employed to adorn her person, that she may amuse the languid hours, and soften cares of a fellow-creature who is willing to be enlivened by her smiles and tricks, when the serious business of life is over.

Besides, the woman who strengthens her body and exercises her mind will, by managing her family and practising various virtues, become the friend, and not the humble dependent of her husband, and if she deserves his regard by possessing such substantial qualities, she will not find it necessary to conceal her affection, nor to pretend to an unnatural coldness of constitution to excite her husband's passions. In fact, if we revert to history, we shall find that the women who have distinguished themselves have neither been the most beautiful nor the most gentle of their sex.

Nature, or to speak with strict propriety, God, has made all things right; but man has sought him out many inventions to mar the work. I now allude to that part of Dr. Gregory's treatise, where he advises a wife never to let her husband know the extent of her sensibility or affection. Voluptuous precaution; and as ineffectual as absurd! Love, from its very nature, must be transitory. To seek for a secret that would render it constant, would be as wild a search as for the philosopher's stone, or the grand panacea; and the discovery would be equally useless, or rather pernicious to mankind. The most holy band of society is friendship. It has been well said, by a shrewd satirist, "that rare as true love is, true friendship is still rarer."

This is an obvious truth, and the cause not lying deep, will not elude a slight glance of inquiry.

Love, the common passion, in which chance and sensation take place of choice and reason, is in some degree, felt by the mass of mankind; for it is not necessary to speak, at present, of the emotions that rise above or sink below love. This passion, naturally increased by suspense and difficulties, draws the mind out of its accustomed state, and exalts the affections; but the security of marriage, allowing the fever of love to subside, a healthy temperature is thought insipid, only by those who have not sufficient intellect to substitute the calm tenderness of friendship, the confidence of respect, instead of blind admiration, and the sensual emotions of fondness.

This is, must be, the course of nature—friendship or indifference inevitably succeeds love. And this constitution seems perfectly to harmonize with the system of government which prevails in the moral world. Passions are spurs to action, and open the mind; but they sink into mere appetites, become a personal momentary gratification, when the object is gained, and the satisfied mind rests in enjoyment. The man who had some virtue whilst he was struggling for a crown, often becomes a voluptuous tyrant when it graces his brow; and, when

the lover is not lost in the husband, the dotard a prey to childish caprices and fond jealousies, neglects the serious duties of life; and the caresses which should excite confidence in his children are lavished on the overgrown child, his wife.

In order to fulfil the duties of life, and to be able to pursue with vigor the various employments which form the moral character, a master and mistress of a family ought not to continue to love each other with passion. I mean to say, that they ought not to indulge those emotions which disturb the order of society, and engross the thoughts that should be otherwise employed. The mind that has never been engrossed by one object wants vigor—if it can long be so, it is weak.

A mistaken education, a narrow, uncultivated mind, and many sexual prejudices, tend to make women more constant than men; but, for the present, I shall not touch on this branch of the subject. I will go still further and advance, without dreaming of a paradox, that an unhappy marriage is often very advantageous to a family, and that the neglected wife is, in general, the best mother. And this would almost always be the consequence, if the female mind was more enlarged; for, it seems to be the common dispensation of Providence, that what we gain in present enjoyment should be deducted from the treasure of life, experience; and that when we are gathering the flowers of the day and reveling in pleasure, the solid fruit of toil and wisdom should not be caught at the same time. The way lies before us, we must turn to the right or left; and he who will pass life away in bounding from one pleasure to another, must not complain if he neither acquires wisdom or respectability of character.

Supposing for a moment, that the soul is not immortal, and that man was only created for the present scene; I think we should have reason to complain that love, infantine fondness, ever grew insipid and palled upon the sense. Let us eat, drink, and love, for to-morrow we die, would be in fact the language of reason, the morality of life; and who but a fool would part with a reality for a fleeting shadow? But, if awed by observing the improvable powers of the mind, we disdain to confine our wishes or thoughts to such a comparatively mean field of action; that only appears grand and important as it is connected with a boundless prospect and sublime hopes; what necessity is there for falsehood in conduct, and why must the sacred majesty of truth be violated to detain a deceitful good that saps the very foundation of virtue? Why must the female mind be tainted by coquetish arts to gratify the sensualist, and prevent love from subsiding into friendship or compassionate tenderness, when there are not qualities on which friendship can be built? Let the honest heart show itself, and reason teach passion to submit to necessity; or, let the dignified pursuit of virtue and knowledge raise the mind above these emotions which rather embitter than sweeten the cup of life, when they are not restrained within due bounds.

I do not mean to allude to the romantic passion, which is the concomitant of genius. Who can clip its wings? But that grand passion not proportioned to the puny enjoyments of life, is only true to the sentiment, and feeds on itself. The passions which have been celebrated for their durability have always been unfortunate. They have acquired strength by absence and constitutional melancholy. The fancy has hovered round a form of beauty dimly seen—but familiarity might have turned admiration into disgust; or, at least, into indifference, and allowed the imagination leisure to start fresh game. With perfect propriety, according to this view of things, does Rousseau make the mistress of his soul, Eloisa, love St. Preux, when life was fading before her; but this is no proof of the immortality of the passion.

Of the same complexion is Dr. Gregory's advice respecting delicacy of sentiment, which he advises a woman not to acquire, if she is determined to marry. This determination, however, perfectly consistent with his former advice, he calls *indiscreet*, and earnestly persuades his daughters to conceal it, though it may govern their conduct: as if it were indelicate to have the common appetites of human nature.

Noble morality! and consistent with the cautious prudence of a little soul that cannot extend its views beyond the present minute division of existence. If all the faculties of woman's mind are only to be cultivated as they respect her dependence on man; if, when she obtains a husband she has arrived at her goal, and meanly proud, is satisfied with such a paltry crown, let her grovel contentedly, scarcely raised by her employments above the animal kingdom; but, if she is struggling for the prize of her high calling, let her cultivate her understanding without stopping to consider what character the husband may have whom she is destined to marry. Let her only determine, without being too anxious about

present happiness, to acquire the qualities that ennoble a rational being, and a rough, inelegant husband may shock her taste without destroying her peace of mind. She will not model her soul to suit the frailties of her companion, but to bear with them: his character may be a trial, but not an impediment to virtue.

If Dr. Gregory confined his remark to romantic expectations of constant love and congenial feelings, he should have recollected that experience will banish what advice can never make us cease to wish for, when the imagination is kept alive at the expense of reason.

I own it frequently happens, that women who have fostered a romantic unnatural delicacy of feeling, waste their lives in *imagining* how happy they should have been with a husband who could love them with a fervid increasing affection every day, and all day. But they might as well pine married as single, and would not be a jot more unhappy with a bad husband than longing for a good one. That a proper education, or, to speak with more precision, a well stored mind, would enable a woman to support a single life with dignity, I grant; but that she should avoid cultivating her taste, lest her husband should occasionally shock it, is quitting a substance for a shadow. To say the truth, I do not know of what use is an improved taste, if the individual is not rendered more independent of the casualties of life; if new sources of enjoyment, only dependent on the solitary operations of the mind, are not opened. People of taste, married or single, without distinction, will ever be disgusted by various things that touch not less observing minds. On this conclusion the argument must not be allowed to hinge; but in the whole sum of enjoyment is taste to be denominated a blessing?

The question is, whether it procures most pain or pleasure? The answer will decide the propriety of Dr. Gregory's advice, and show how absurd and tyrannic it is thus to lay down a system of slavery; or to attempt to educate moral beings by any other rules than those deduced from pure reason, which apply to the whole species.

Gentleness of manners, forbearance, and long suffering, are such amiable, godlike qualities, that in sublime poetic strains the Deity has been invested with them; and, perhaps, no representation of his goodness so strongly fastens on the human affections as those that represent him abundant in mercy and willing to pardon. Gentleness, considered in this point of view, bears on its front all the characteristics of grandeur, combined with the winning graces of condescension; but what a different aspect it assumes when it is the submissive demeanor of dependence, the support of weakness that loves, because it wants protection; and is forbearing, because it must silently endure injuries; smiling under the lash at which it dare not snarl! Abject as this picture appears, it is the portrait of an accomplished woman, according to the received opinion of female excellence, separated by specious reasoners from human excellence. Or, they* kindly restore the rib, and make one moral being of a man and woman; not forgetting to give her all the "submissive charms."

How women are to exist in that state where there is to be neither marrying nor giving in marriage, we are not told. For though moralists have agreed, that the tenor of life seems to prove that man is prepared by various circumstances for a future state, they constantly concur in advising woman only to provide for the present. Gentleness, docility, and spaniel-like affection are, on this ground, consistently recommended as the cardinal virtues of the sex; and, disregarding the arbitrary economy of nature, one writer has declared that it is masculine for a woman to be melancholy. She was created to be the toy of man, his rattle; and it must jingle in his ears, whenever dismissing reason, he chooses to be amused.

To recommend gentleness, indeed, on a broad basis is strictly philosophical. A trait being should labor to be gentle. But when forbearance confounds right and wrong, it ceases to be a virtue; and, however convenient it may be found in a companion, that companion will ever be considered as an inferior, and only inspire a vapid tenderness, which easily degenerates into contempt. Still, if advice could really make a being gentle, whose natural disposition admitted not of such a fine polish, something toward the advancement of *crde* would be attained; but if, as might quickly be demonstrated only affection be produced by this indiscriminate counsel, which throws a stumbling block in the way of gradual improvement, and true melioration of temper, the sex is not much benefitted by sacrificing solid virtues to the attainment of superficial graces, though for a few years they may procure the individuals rega away.

As a philosopher, I read with indignation the plausible

* Vide Rousseau and Swedenborg.

pitheas which men use to soften their insults; and, as a moralist, I ask what is meant by such heterogeneous associations, as fair defects, amiable weaknesses, etc.? If there is but one criterion of morals, but one archetype for man, women appear to be suspended by destiny, according to the vulgar tale of Mahomet's coffin; they have neither the unerring instinct of brutes, nor are allowed to fix the eye of reason on a perfect model. They were made to be loved, and must not aim at respect, lest they should be hunted out of society as masculine.

But to view the subject from another point. Do passive, indolent women make the best wives? Confining our discussion to the present moment of existence, let us see how such weak creatures perform their part? Do the women who, by the attainment of a few superficial accomplishments, have strengthened the prevailing prejudice, merely contribute to the happiness of their husbands? Do they display their charms merely to amuse them? And have women, who have early imbibed notions of passive obedience, sufficient character to manage a family or educate children? So far from it, that, after surveying the history of woman, I cannot help agreeing with the severest satirist, considering the sex as the weakest as well as the most oppressed half of the species. What does history disclose but marks of inferiority, and how few women have emancipated themselves from the galling yoke of sovereign man? So few, that the exceptions remind me of an ingenious conjecture respecting Newton: that he was probably a being of a superior order, accidentally caged in a human body. In the same style I have been led to imagine that the few extraordinary women who have rushed in eccentric directions out of the orbit prescribed to their sex, were male spirits, confined by mistake in a female frame. But if it be not philosophical to think of sex when the soul is mentioned, the inferiority must depend on the organs; or the heavenly fire, which is to ferment the clay, is not given in equal portions.

But avoiding, as I have hitherto done, any direct comparison of the two sexes collectively, or frankly acknowledging the inferiority of woman, according to the present appearance of things, I shall only insist, that men have increased that inferiority till women are almost sunk below the standard of rational creatures. Let their faculties have room to unfold, and their virtues to gain strength, and then determine where the whole sex must stand in the intellectual scale. Yet, let it be remembered, that for a small number of distinguished women I do not ask a place.

It is difficult for us, purblind mortals to say to what height human discoveries and improvements may arrive, when the gloom of despotism subsides, which makes us stumble at every step; but when morality shall be settled on a more solid basis, then, without being gifted with a prophetic spirit, I will venture to predict, that woman will be either the friend or slave of man. We shall not, at present, doubt whether she is a moral agent, or the link which unites man with brutes. But, should it then appear, that like the brute they were principally created for the use of man, he will let them patiently bite the bridle, and not mock them with empty praise; or should their rationality be proved, he will not impede their improvement merely to gratify his sensual appetites. He will not, with all the graces of rhetoric, advise them to submit implicitly their understandings to the guidance of man. He will not, when he treats of the education of women, assert, that they ought never to have the free use of reason, nor would he recommend cunning and dissimulation to beings who are acquiring, in like manner as himself, the virtues of humanity.

Surely there can be but one rule of right, if morality has an eternal foundation; and whoever sacrifices virtue, strictly so called, to present convenience, or whose duty it is to act in such a manner, lives only for the passing day, and cannot be an accountable creature.

The poet then should have dropped his sneer when he says,

"If weak women go astray,
The stars are more in fault than they."

For that they are bound by the adamant chain of destiny is most certain, if it be proved that they are never to exercise their own reason, never to be independent, never to rise above opinion, or to feel the dignity of a rational will that only bows to God, and often forgets that the universe contains any being but itself, and the model of perfection to which its ardent gaze is turned, to adore attributes that, softened into virtues, may be imitated in kind, though the degree overwhelms the enraptured mind.

If, I say, for I would not impress by declamation when reason offers her sober light, if they are really capable of acting like rational creatures, let them not be treated like slaves; or, like the brutes who are dependent on

the reason of man, when they associate with him; but cultivate their minds, give them the salutary, sublime curb of principle, and let them attain conscious dignity by feeling themselves only dependent on God. Teach them, in common with man, to submit to necessity, instead of giving, to render them more pleasing, a sex to morals.

Further, should experience prove that they cannot attain the same degree of mind, perseverance and fortitude, let their virtues be the same in kind, though they may vainly struggle for the same degree; and the superiority of man will be equally clear, if not clearer; and truth, as it is a simple principle, which admits of no modification, would be common to both. Nay, the order of society, as it is at present regulated, would not be inverted, for woman would then only have the rank that reason assigned her, and arts could not be practiced to bring the balance even, much less to turn it.

These may be termed Utopian dreams. Thanks to that being who impressed them on my soul, and gave me sufficient strength of mind to dare to exert my own reason, till becoming dependent only on Him for the support of my virtues, I view with indignation the mistaken notions that enslave my sex.

I love man as my fellow; but his sceptre, real or usurped, extends not to me, unless the reason of an individual demands my homage; and even then the submission is to reason, and not to man. In fact, the conduct of an accountable being must be regulated by the operations of its own reason; or on what foundation rests the throne of God?

It appears to me necessary to dwell on these obvious truths, because females have been insulted, as it were; and while they have been stripped of the virtues that should clothe humanity, they have been decked with artificial graces that enable them to exercise a short-lived tyranny. Love, in their bosoms, taking place of every nobler passion, their sole ambition is to be fair, to raise emotion instead of inspiring respect; and this ignoble desire, like the servility in absolute monarchies, destroys all strength of character. Liberty is the mother of virtue, and if women are, by their very constitution, slaves, and not allowed to breathe the sharp invigorating air of freedom, they must ever languish like exotics, and be reckoned beautiful flaws in nature; let it also be remembered, that they are the only flaw.

As to the argument respecting the subjection in which the sex has ever been held, it retorts on man. The many have always been enthralled by the few; and, monsters who have scarcely shown any discernment of human excellence, have tyrannized over thousands of their fellow-creatures. Why have men of superior endowments submitted to such degradation? For, is it not universally acknowledged that kings, viewed collectively, have ever been inferior, in abilities and virtue, to the same number of men taken from the common mass of mankind—yet, have they not, and are they not still treated with a degree of reverence, that is an insult to reason? China is not the only country where a living man has been made a God. Men have submitted to superior strength, to enjoy with impunity the pleasure of the moment—women have only done the same, and therefore till it is proved that the courtier, who servilely resigns the birthright of a man, is not a moral agent, it cannot be demonstrated that woman is essentially inferior to man, because she has always been subjugated.

Brutal force has hitherto governed the world, and that the science of politics is in its infancy, is evident from philosophers scrupling to give the knowledge most useful to man that determinate distinction.

I shall not pursue this argument any further than to establish an obvious inference, that as sound politics diffuse liberty, mankind, including woman, will become more wise and virtuous.

(To be Continued.)

WHAT THE PRESS SAYS OF US.

From the Valparaiso (Ind.) Republican.

"THE REVOLUTION."—The paper bearing this name is on our table. We wish to thank Elizabeth Stanton, or Parker Pillsbury, or Susan B. Anthony, or whichever of the ladies it was, that honored us by putting us down on their lists. We hope to be the means of obtaining them a number of subscribers in this county, for although their views do not coincide with our own, we are in favor of letting women just talk as much as they please, feeling assured that so long as their tongues are unfettered, they will be kept out of far greater mischief.

Elizabeth don't like Grant, and we don't feel exactly tender towards Lizzie for that very reason; at the same time, we are willing to hear what she has to say, and to

fairly represent her paper, which is really excellent in most respects. We advise all our lady friends who feel that their mission on earth cannot be accomplished in their present helpless and dependent condition, to send for a copy of "THE REVOLUTION," and read all the fine things that Elizabeth and Susan and P. P. promise them in that good time coming when women can vote, and the "hateful men you know," are compelled to do their share of trotting the babies.

There could be no more philosophical reflection than this on the beneficial results of free speech; and if the wise men of Indiana will only decide to accord us the same freedom to go wherever we please, our work will be done. All we ask is the same privilege man claims for himself—to examine the universe and bound our own sphere.

We do not dislike Grant, only we think he is better fitted to be at the head of the military than the civil branch of the government. As to "trotting the babies," so long as the mass of men smoke, and chew, and drink, no sensible mother would risk her baby in such an atmosphere. We have kept our babies out of sight many a time for fear a tobacco-chewing friend would kiss them, or breathe on them. We can vote and take care of our babies, too; but when that good day comes, and woman is independent and self-supporting, as she will be when with the ballot she opens to herself the colleges, the trades and the professions. She will then choose the father of her children, and sunder all the unholy ties that now degrade and desecrate the family relation. We look for a higher type of the race when woman is educated, elevated and enfranchised, the peer and not the dependent of man.

From the Pomeroy (Ohio) Banner.

"THE REVOLUTION."—We are in receipt of "THE REVOLUTION," a neat, spicy, weekly journal, conducted by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, devoted to female suffrage and human rights. We welcome "THE REVOLUTION" to our exchange table. However widely we may differ with them in some respects, there is one point, at least, on which we can agree, and that is, a bond-holding aristocracy is no better than a slave-holding one. Slavery is value received from the masses by the few. If matters not whether it is extorted by the lash, or by the law.

We have abolished in this country a slavery of brute force; but there are other forms of slavery, the result of cunning legislation, to which we must now arouse the attention of the masses. We are taught that the inequalities in our social life are in harmony with the will of God; that he makes men rich and poor, to cultivate the feelings of charity on one side and gratitude on the other; when the fact is, that all this poverty, and misery, and crime, luxury, excess and debauchery, are in direct violation of all laws, both moral and physical. When we bring ourselves into line with God, health, happiness and harmony will cover the earth. It is surprising how supinely people endure evils that could be so easily remedied by resistance and determination. The trouble is, most people believe that human affairs revolve like the solar system, and cannot be changed, whereas the will of man is mightier than the elements. It can mould circumstances, all material things, annihilate time and space, bind continents together, and welt the nations of the earth in one.

From the Pomeroy (Ohio) Banner.

MR. EDITOR: I have just received a copy of "THE REVOLUTION," published by Mrs. E. Cady Stanton. "THE REVOLUTION" should be read by every true American mother and daughter. It is one of the most soul-stirring, edifying and heart-inspiring papers published on this Continent. The larif and money questions, its accomplished editress handles without gloves. The right of females to suffrage is one of its cardinal doctrines, which, as Stanton sets forth in a light that

cannot be surpassed. We freely endorse every word which she utters, and hope she will yet bear the honored title of the female emancipator of America. We, the women of this glorious country, will hail with joy unspeakable the day of freedom, and our friend and advocate, Mrs. E. C. Stanton, shall be crowned with laurels that will never fade.

MARY W. STRIDER.

From the New York Independent.

When people who have once been radicals suddenly turn aside from the army of progress, and join that backward-moving multitude whose faces are toward the middle ages, there is no telling when and where they will finally bring up. For instance, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, hitherto a crisp and sparkling "free-trader," is now editing a journal in this city whose prospectus is violent for a tariff. "Foreign Manufactures Prohibited," it says. This contradiction has elicited the following note from one of our correspondents:

"New York, June 10, 1868.

"To the Editor of the Independent.

"I observe with upfeigned regret that my radical friend, Mrs. Stanton, is at present editing a journal devoted to the advocacy of protection, and negro-hating democracy. This is the more surprising to me because I have long known her to be an enthusiastic supporter of free trade, as well as the freedom of men and women. Surely, 'Revolutions' do go backward, sometimes.

"L. H. B."

Yes, our correspondent is sadly right in saying that "THE REVOLUTION" is going backward. Mrs. Stanton's notions on free trade or a tariff are of minor importance; but what our correspondent calls her "devotion to the negro-hating democracy" is one of the lamentable signs of the times. Think of an old-fashioned abolitionist becoming a Tammany Hall democrat! Think of a Woman's Rights journal willing to admit the southern states without negro suffrage! Think of the editorial columns of "THE REVOLUTION" arguing that the negro soldier ought to be denied his elective franchise until he can pass a district school examination in elocution and penmanship! Alas! Elizabeth Cady, farewell!

If Tammany Hall democrats believe in our political creed, free men, free speech, free press, and free trade, citizen suffrage, black and white, male and female, the duty of Congress to establish a republican form of government in every state of the Union; if they repudiate a financial system that makes the rich richer, the poor poorer, why we give them the right hand of fellowship. A democrat that believes all this (and we know some who do) is far better in our estimation than a republican who believes in "state rights," "manhood suffrage," or "gold for the bond-holder and paper for the laborer," "tariffs" and "protection."

We cannot imagine with what kind of spectacles Mr. Tilton reads "THE REVOLUTION."

In the above extract he travels so far out of the record that we have come to the conclusion that this is his playful way of giving us an advertisement. As such we accept it, and tender him our hearty thanks. We hope that closing "farewell" does not signify that he will do no more for us in that way.

We feel, however, that it is a little remarkable, while in every part of the country the press, both republican and democratic, is so very complimentary to us that all our old friends should be so hostile. While all the city papers quote from us, and kindly call the attention of the public to our columns, the *Anti-Slavery Standard* has treated us with sullen silence and contempt; and the *Independent* from the day of our birth has uniformly pointed its pen with a sneer, and that, too, while these papers claim to be the most radical in the country on the Woman's Rights question. If black men had started "THE REVOLUTION" we wonder if these radical gentlemen would have been so hypercritical with them. However, "THE REVOLUTION" is to live in spite of sneers and contempt,

and to be a power in the building up of the nation on the solid foundation of equal rights to all. We may have made some blunders in starting in matters of minor importance; but whoever publicly impeaches our principles, without one quotation from our columns, is not only unjust to us, but untrue to himself.

E. C. S.

SUFFRAGE FOR WOMAN.

From the New York World.

A MEETING of the Union League (colored) of America, No. 23, was held last evening at the hall in Cottage place, near Bleeker street, to discuss the questions of universal and impartial suffrage.

W. C. H. Curtis (colored), President of the League, occupied the chair, and stated that the object of the meeting was the discussion of suffrage and other questions relating to the coming fall campaign.

Wm. P. Powell (colored) offered a series of resolutions declaring "that American native born citizens seek for nothing but what is right, viz., equal suffrage without any qualification other than manhood."

Mrs. S. F. Norton moved an amendment, that suffrage should be conferred on all citizens irrespective of sex or color, and that the words "or womanhood," be added to the resolution.

Miss Susan B. Anthony said they ought to feel grateful to the colored men of New York City, that they had so soon inaugurated the discussion of this great question of suffrage—the only question that is worthy of our full and hearty consideration. It is the question that underlies all other questions. We are now at the end of a revolution. And what was the cause of the war? Simply the violation of the great fundamental principles of republicanism and democracy. Simply depriving a portion of the people of their inalienable rights. You may say that was done by enslaving them. Yes, but there was a crime, a far greater crime, back of their enslavement—and that was the crime of their disfranchisement. No class having the ballot in their hands could possibly have been enslaved. Therefore, the work of this hour is to make sure that we shall never again have cause of disturbance by the violation of the fundamental principles of republicanism. The hour is come when these principles must be carried to their legitimate conclusions. Republicanism is either a lie, or a truth. If it is the truth, it should be applied to all, without distinction. And that is what the women demand—that is the demand of the hour. The women helped the anti-slavery movement to the best of their ability, and were admitted to prominent positions in the organization. Their rights were acknowledged. But when the war broke out, they, for the time, ceased their Woman's Rights Conventions in order to help the cause which then commended itself to the feelings of the North; promising themselves that as soon as the object of the war was accomplished, and the black man was rescued from slavery, and placed on an even platform with the most wealthy and cultivated women of the country, they would make common cause with him. But when the close of the war came, we found our abolition friends unwilling to help us. They said, "before the women seek for enfranchisement we must obtain enfranchisement for the negro"—in other words, we, who had worked, must waive our demands for justice. But then Mrs. Stanton and myself, who stand as the representatives of this factious set of women, said to Mr. Phillips, "Nay, this is the hour for all. If you ask the ballot for the black man, demand it also for the woman. Either suffrage is a right or it is not. If it be an inalienable right, it is as much the right of the black woman as it is of the black man. And you can't ask it for any class of men, without asking it for all the women who are deprived of it." And I told Wendell Phillips, "Unless you make demand for all, you will lose all. You cannot urge the principle with force and power, unless it be on the ground of absolute right." But no, Phillips and the republicans said they could maintain the government without the woman's vote, but not without the vote of the black man. That was political maneuvering and management. That was expediency. That was working for an end, and not for justice towards all the inhabitants of the land. And so they managed at Chicago. The South must be compelled to give suffrage to the negroes, because the republican party wants their votes; but Connecticut and New York may vote the black man away from the ballot-box just as long as they please. We find that after all this discord they still propose to leave this question of the vote open to the control of the states; and if the Southern rebels can get a majority they can vote the

ballot out of the hands of the negroes precisely as it is done in New York. And therefore, unless the democratic party does what it seems hardly possible it can do—really arrives at the conclusion that General Jackson is dead; and that it is necessary to make a platform in accordance with the events and necessities of the day—and if they want to win they will do it—unless they do this, what becomes the duty of the people? Are we to accept either party? Or are we, according to a fallacious principle, out of two evils to accept the least? Or shall the people assemble themselves together, and declare that the one grand idea of this hour is universal suffrage—the right of all to a voice in the laws under which they live—the right to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President? Now, I think, every true man, black or white, will refuse to go with either party which denies these rights. The right to the ballot inheres in the individual without regard to color or sex. It is not inalienable to man only, but to woman as well. And if this question is left without settlement you leave a question which brings back all the troubles and corruptions of former years. There must be another party, a National party of New America. It is a young party as yet, but nevertheless, it is going to be a great party. The National party takes the ground that no class of people in the state government, or in the federal government, has a right to sit in judgment upon its neighbors and decide who is to have a voice in the government and who is not. It is not a question to be discussed. Nobody has a right to say another shall not vote. It is a question settled by the very fact that we are human beings. My right to vote is as inalienable as any man's, and the men who call themselves the government, are an usurpation. This American government has been nothing but usurpation from its commencement. While the slaves were dragging their chains, you could see it. But while the women while seven-twelfths of the population are deprived of their political rights, our government is as much an usurpation as it was five, ten, or fifty years ago. And therefore, I say this is the time for the people to gather themselves in strong force, to form a genuine republic, a pure democracy. (Applause.)

There was a further discussion upon the resolution, in which Dr. J. D. Moore, Aaron M. Powell, Mr. Butler, and others took part, after which the meeting adjourned.

Mr. Powell counselled the colored men not to trust the democratic party, no matter what their platform or who their candidate. He told them, while the republicans were greatly at fault, corrupt and unworthy, it was not wise to form a third party, for it could not be successful—hence, virtually told them to "choose the least of the two evils," meaning Grant and Colfax, as against Chase.

Mr. Butler said he was just from the worst state in the Union—Kentucky—and he wanted to tell them a few things about how matters stood down South. Said he, the colored people distrust the honesty of the republican party. They told us if we would work and vote for them, they would stand by us. But how is it. I stumped for them all through the last campaign, and I know what I say. The colored people are outraged and killed for no crime but helping the republicans—and though Congress pays an immense army, they are not protected—their failure, to say the right word, at Chicago, makes us still more suspicious of them. And I tell you, up here in the North, if the democracy do pledge themselves to *universal suffrage*, and nominate Salmon P. Chase, he'll be elected—the colored men down South will go for Chase solid. Here there were hisses—but Mr. Butler again repeated, that he knew things down South better than they did here—and if the democrats did nominate Chase they'd win.

WOMEN IN OFFICE.—The Massachusetts Legislature couldn't give woman one vote for right of suffrage, but a good many women there are getting appointed to office. Gov. Bullock has just called Rachel Howland of New Bedford, Elizabeth Fisher of Lancaster, and Mary A. Fay of Worcester, to be the Advisory Board to the Trustees of the Industrial School for Girls, at Lancaster.

PERSONAL SKETCHES.

WM. H. SYLVIS, ESQ.

PERSONAL sketches are becoming a prominent part of newspaper literature. Only eminent persons are however yet selected for this distinction, professional men, prominent and successful politicians or accumulators of great wealth. We propose to vary the course occasionally, and present the characters of such persons (whether men or women) as have not been introduced to the public, though eminently deserving, for their works sake, a high place in the popular esteem. We find in the *People's Weekly*, published in Washington, the following interesting account of the life and labors of William H. Sylvis, a prominent leader in the Labor Reform Movement which already counts hundreds of local associations, with a membership of more than half a million, and which will, ere long, shape the policy of the nation. Most of the members are laborers, though some are women soon we trust to be voters. It may not be out of place to introduce here the organization of a new Washington Suffrage movement with headquarters at the office of "THE REVOLUTION," 377 Park Row, with Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mrs. Horace Greeley, Mrs. Abby H. Gibbons, and Miss Susan B. Anthony as the Central Committee and Council. But to our sketch of Mr. Sylvis:

William H. Sylvis was born in the town of Armagh, Indiana county, Pennsylvania, on the 16th November, 1828, of European parents, his father having been a native of France, and his mother of Ireland.

William was the second son of ten children. His father, who was a wagon maker, was poor, and in the general depression of business, caused by the panic of 1837, found it very difficult to provide for his large and increasing family. Under these circumstances, the subject of our sketch, not then ten years of age, determined to strike out for himself, and try to help his father to take care of the rest of the family. He went to work first upon a farm, afterwards at a blast furnace, turning a ready hand to all kinds of work, until at eighteen years of age he began to learn the trade of an iron moulder. Until 1852, when he moved to Philadelphia and married, all his earnings, beyond a bare support for himself, were regularly sent to aid his parents in their hard struggle to provide for and educate the large family at home. In doing this his own early education was neglected, at least so far as education is derived from schools and books. Arrived at manhood, he felt the necessity for more extended knowledge than could be picked up in the workshop, and determined by industry and perseverance to make up for the disadvantages of his early years. Like Andrew Johnson, Gov. Jones of Tennessee, and many others who have risen to eminence and distinction, he began the study of books at an age when the sons of wealthy parents generally stop. Men and nature he had been studying from childhood. These studies he pursued with great diligence, but under many difficulties, being under the necessity of working daily at his trade until 1863. In that year he was elected President of the "Iron Moulders' International Union," in which capacity he has served ever since, having been elected five times successively.

In 1846 Mr. Sylvis commenced studying the Labor Reform Question, as it then presented itself in Europe. His quick perception and reflective mind soon comprehended that the tendency of Red Republicanism in Europe, like Black Republicanism in America, is, through anarchy, to military despotism, to corrupt class legislation, taxing the labor of the industrial classes to pamper the military despots and their aristocratic retinues. He also saw that the monarchical and aristocratic institutions, sustained by large organized standing armies, which the spendthrift past has left like the old man of the sea, clinging to and pressing upon the backs of the laboring classes of Europe, left them little to hope for in the near future in the way of governmental reform; and that there the chief immediate practical benefit to the working classes to be expected from the labor reform movement was bettering their material condition through the co-operative system. He also saw in this country this difference; a government of the people, of whom the laboring classes constitute the greater and

most important part, and, according to the theory of the government, should be the controlling element. Here, then, the laboring classes have a duty to perform somewhat different. It is theirs to preserve what the laboring class of Europe may vainly struggle for years, against kings and nobles and standing armies, to gain. Impressed with these views, himself a working man, one of the people, Mr. Sylvis, as he learned from history the universal tendency of all centralized governments to class legislation and unequal taxation, taken from the laboring many to enrich the non-producing few, naturally adopted the Jeffersonian doctrine of a strict construction of the constitution, which seeks to limit the power of taxation and appropriation by the general government strictly to the objects for which the general government was formed. This threw him into the ranks of that party, whose opponents, the monarchists, the aristocrats, and the negro worshippers, called the democratic party, in derision; because they held that the sovereignty of this country was in the *demos*, or people.

It will not be out of place here to remark that the words Democratic party and People's party mean identically the same thing, and our only objection to the word democrat is that those who have not studied Greek do not generally understand that its true signification is "one of the People's party," or know that it was first applied in this country by the monarchists, as a term of reproach to their opponents.

The Labor Reform movement in this country began in 1855, and grew out of the gradually increasing tendency of the general government to class legislation and to the assumption of the power of taxation and appropriation in cases not contemplated by the constitution. Mr. Sylvis became identified with the movement at its inception in 1855, but it was not till 1857 that he took an active part in directing its movements. At that time there were many local isolated efforts being made, but no concert of action, no objective point, no leader. Mr. Sylvis made the motion, which called into existence the Iron Moulders' International Union, which now numbers 200 subordinate Unions and 10,000 members. Since his first election as President of the I. M. I. Union in 1863, he has visited nearly all the cities, towns, and villages in the United States, attended hundreds of meetings, public and private, and made the personal acquaintance of many hundred thousand workmen. Out of his writings, speeches and labors has sprung nearly the whole Labor Reform movement, as it exists to-day in this country, and he has done much to shape it in Europe.

Secession was a bad blunder on the part of the South. It furnished to the monarchists and aristocrats, the centralizers and class legislators, who had previously denounced the Union as "a league with hell and a covenant with death," and spoke of the flag of the Union as "hate's polluted rag," the opportunity of changing their cry to "let us save the Union and the nation's life," and by that cry to lead the laboring classes of the North into those very centralizing measures, which Mr. Sylvis foresaw would pauperize and enslave them, as has been done in Europe.

After the war was over, Mr. Sylvis suggested the idea of calling a convention to organize a National Labor Union, a movement made more than ever necessary by the results of war. Three men, himself one, met in his office and called a council of the Presidents of the several labor unions to meet in New York, in March, 1866. From that council emanated the call for the Baltimore Labor Congress, of August, 1866, which he was unable to attend, being then confined to his bed by sickness.

On the 19th of August, 1866, being then in New York, we for the first time learned from the *Times* that such a Congress was to meet the next day in Baltimore. The place being south of Mason and Dixon's Line, attracted our attention. On further thought, we said to ourselves, "this is the bow of promise. There is no other element in the Northern States that offers any hope of checking the downward career of RADICALISM to MILITARY DESPOTISM except the laboring classes of the North and West." So the next day we went to Baltimore to see what this Labor Congress was and meant.

We lived a long time in Washington city, and have seen Houses of Representatives there, that were Houses of Representatives. We have seen a great many State Legislatures. For what would be called in Texas "good horse sense," for propriety of demeanor, for honesty and earnestness of purpose, we have seen no assemblage of men that would surpass the Baltimore Labor Congress of 1866, or that of Chicago in 1867. But the delegates, with the exception of those from Baltimore and Washington, two or three from Virginia, and one from Georgia, were all from the East and Northwest. Much to our regret, and little to our surprise, we found them filled to overflowing with that sectional hatred and bitterness, which

Washington deprecated, and which had been so long and diligently fomented by the leaders of the republican party, to whom the war furnished an occasion, which they had promptly seized, for aggravating and intensifying that hatred. We at once determined, if we could get an opportunity, to lay before them, in a calm unimpassioned statement, some of the aspects of the question as viewed from a Southern stand-point. We sought and obtained permission to make a few remarks to the Congress in response to which resolutions, favorable to the restoration of the South, were unanimously adopted.

As we have said, Mr. Sylvis was prevented by sickness from attending the Baltimore Congress in 1866. We first met him at Chicago in 1867, and recognized at once what we had felt the want of at Baltimore—the presence of the leader in a great movement. In a quiet, unassuming way, in a few brief sentences, he disposed of question after question, invariably carrying the Congress with him almost unanimously, and silencing all opposition.

The numerical strength of the several unions in affiliation with and represented in the "National Labor Union," is about 500,000, nearly all voters, scattered through the North and West, from Maine to California; and there are hundreds of thousands, who do not belong as active members to the organization, but whose sympathies are with it and its objects.

This sketch would not be complete without adding the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the National Labor Congress at Chicago:

"Whereas, the great staple of the South, cotton, has been heretofore not only the chief basis of our commerce and exchanges, but the source of profitable employment to a large portion of the laboring classes of New England, who were engaged in its manufacture; and

"Whereas, Nearly every branch of industry in the North and West will suffer more or less, directly or indirectly, if the United States should, as is anticipated by some, not only lose the export cotton trade, but fail to grow enough for our own domestic use, thus forcing American manufacturers to import cotton from abroad; and

"Whereas, The British Cotton Supply Association have for a long time been laboring to bring about such a result, so that instead of selling to England, the United States would have to buy cotton their, the growth of India and Egypt; therefore be it

"Resolved, 1st, That this Congress endorses and reiterates the resolution adopted by the National Labor Congress at Baltimore last year, to the effect that the speedy restoration of the agricultural industry of the Southern states is of vital importance to the industrial classes of the North.

"Resolved, 2d, That the speedy restoration of the Southern states to their proper practical relations in the Union is indispensable to the restoration of their agricultural prosperity."

EDUCATED OFFICE-HOLDERS.

"THE REVOLUTION" discusses Educated Suffrage. It fully believes also in educated Office-Holders. Congress has proposed or passed a law requiring some kind of examination of candidates, called the Civil Service bill. Gen. Grant, at his West Point graduation, stood only as high as thirty-seven in a class of forty-one, or within four of the foot. A Western correspondent catechises the republicans on their candidate, thus evangelically:

I arraign you of inconsistency in not applying the principles of the Civil Service bill to the case of the highest officer of the government. Could Gen. Grant stand the test of an examination such as that bill requires for the highest officers? It is only very lately that you have advocated him as the fit standard-bearer of the party. Have you not yielded principle to expediency? Can it be that you believe he is the only man of the republican party who can be elected President, and he not on account of any political principles or opinions he has expressed, nor for his experience, culture, and fitness, but because the party in Congress have committed so many blunders, mistakes, extravagances, and perversions of principle that only the successful leader of our armies can be elected?

A SOUTHERN DEMOCRATIC OPINION.—A lady from Alabama of the highest intelligence, in conversation, assures us, that the Southern democracy will accept any candidate. Her last letters from her husband in Montgomery, a lead-

ing democrat, confirm her more and more in this belief. We have always believed the South would accept colored suffrage more readily than the North. With Judge Chase on a truly democratic platform, erected in good faith, the democrats would sweep the entire South.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS IN ENGLAND.

WOMAN'S rights of property and of suffrage are vital questions in Great Britain, and Parliament has begun to deal with them in good earnest. There is none of that cowardly shrinking from the subject so common among American legislators, and there is reason to believe that woman will come to her full rights as a citizen sooner in that country than in this. In the House of Commons there were over eighty votes in support of her right of suffrage last winter; and on the bill of Mr. Lefevre to secure to married women the right of property, the vote for a second reading stood 123 to 123, and the Speaker gave the casting vote in favor, and it was referred to a select committee. Some of the debates were of a most interesting description. The *London Star* says the object of the measure is to allow a married woman to be the owner of her own property and earnings. It is, in fact, to reverse the present condition of things. Now, unless a woman's property is specially protected and secured to her, the law presumes and declares that it is her husband's. Mr. Shaw Lefevre's bill would enact that where there is no special arrangement making over the wife's property to the husband, the law shall regard it as her own, just as if she were unmarried or a widow. On any principle of justice intelligible to ordinary intellect, or recognized by men in their dealings among themselves, the alteration Mr. Lefevre proposes is obviously and unassailably just. The only argument against it is based on the old and degrading notion that the husband is the lord and the wife the vassal. Lord Galway wanted to know how a woman can "love, honor, and obey" her husband unless the latter has absolute ownership of her property as well as her person. According to this principle, of course no woman can love, honor, and obey if her property is protected by a marriage settlement. The Attorney-General and several other speakers saw dreadful family discord arising out of the proposed improvement of the law. Mr. Karslake confined himself chiefly to firing off some small and cad-like jokes about Mr. Mill's philosophical views on the subject of woman. Mr. Lowe made a very forcible and telling speech, and furnished a capital illustration of the theory on which present British legislation rests when he asked whether marriage was such a crime on the part of the woman as to render her justly obnoxious to one portion of the punishment for high treason, namely, confiscation of property. Jacob Bright strengthened and pointed a speech, in itself admirable as a piece of calm, conclusive argument, by some striking practical examples of the manner in which the present system in that country actually has operated in the city which he represents. Mr. Melly disputed the statement that 499 women out of 500 in the humbler classes possessed no property, remarking that 800,000 women were in receipt of weekly wages in factories. Protection against dishonest and reckless husbands, he declared, was urgently needed, and he was not terrified at the epithet "maternalism," remembering how systematically it had been applied by hon. gentlemen opposite

to measures designed to improve the social condition of the masses. Mr. Mill said those who, like himself, thought that women could never hope that the laws and customs of society would do them full justice unless they were admitted to participate in political rights, ought to wish that the house would reject this bill, because its rejection would give a most extraordinary impulse to the movement which had lately made so much progress for giving the suffrage to women. He wished, however, that his sex should have the credit of giving up their unjust privileges voluntarily. It was impossible, he continued, that society could exist on a harmonious footing when the husband had an absolute power over the wife. That was very well for savages, but it was only by doing justice to women that they could hope to give them any moral feeling against encroaching on the rights of others. It was by remedying the injustice that married women now suffered that real harmony was to be introduced into the married state. Mr. Lefevre said it was feared the measure would introduce divisions into families; but the experience of its working in America refuted that assertion. During the last twenty years almost all the Northern States had legislated in that direction, and some of them had arrived at the very point at which he wished to place the law of England. In regard to that experiment in New England he said he had received a letter from a gentleman, once the Governor of a State and now the Professor of Law in an American University, stating that he had seen no mischievous results from the change; that, on the contrary, having himself regarded the first inroad upon the common law as the rights of husbands in their wives estates with apprehension, that it would cause angry and unkind feelings in families, and open the door for fraud as far as the husband's creditors were concerned, he was so much convinced to the contrary that he would not be one to restore the common law if he could. The same high legal authority said the new law rendered wives more independent in the matter of property, and often saved a family from the consequences of the husband's or father's recklessness or misfortune. He quoted similar testimony from the head of one of the largest manufacturing firms in New England, and also from the son of Mr. Abbot Lawrence. The latter gentleman said that the only part of the Union in which the new system had not been adopted or proposed was the Southern States, where, since the emancipation of the negroes, great dissatisfaction had arisen from the state of the law. Formerly, marriage being illegal between slaves, what property the masters allowed the negro women to hold was their own, but when the slaves were set free, and got married in great numbers, it was found that the black men were very willing to see their wives work while they themselves remained idle, because the law, like our common law, gave them power over the wives' earnings. The result was that the rage for matrimony abated, the women preferring to remain single and enjoy their own property as they did before emancipation.

The discussion was very long as well as able, but "THE REVOLUTION" must plead want of space for any further account of it. As in this country, the British press is fast becoming familiar with and very friendly towards this sublimest question of the age, the Rights of Woman.

A YANKEE, in Paris, has invented a style of luminous printing which can be read in the dark.

WOMEN ALWAYS IDLE.

FROM GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.

THE *London Saturday Review* says, "Woman is always idle." Woman will not be idle when educated. Equal Suffrage is the order. The *Review* says:

The whole theory of woman's life is framed on the hypothesis of sheer indolence. She is often charming, but she is always idle. There is an immense ingenuity and a perfect grace about her idleness, the efforts, in fact, of generations of cultivated women, have been directed, and successfully directed, to this special object of securing absolute indolence without either the inner tedium or the outer contempt which indolence is supposed to bring in its train. Woman can always say with Titus, "I have wasted a day, but the confession wears an air of triumph rather than regret. A world of trivial occupations, a whole system of social life, has been laboriously invented that the day might be wasted gracefully and without boredom. A little riding, a little reading, a little dabbled with the paint-brush, a little strumming on the piano, a little visiting, a little shopping, a little dancing, and a general trivial chat scattered over the whole, made up the day of an English girl in town. Transplant her into the country, and the task of frittering away existence, though it becomes more difficult, is faced just as gallantly as before. Woman wraps herself in her indolence, and is perfectly satisfied with her lot. She assumes, and the world has at least granted the assumption, that her little hands were never made to do anything which any rougher hands can do for them. Man has got accustomed to serve as her hewer of wood and drawer of water, and to expect nothing from her but poetry and refinement. It is a little too much to ask her to go back to the position of the squaw, and to do any work for herself. Already the great philosopher of the age has pronounced that the passion of love plays far too important a part in human existence, and that it is a terrible obstacle to human progress.

Woman will go to work when "THE REVOLUTION" will educate its party. But here is another item:

Sarah Punt, of Gasing, applied to the magistrates for a gauger's license, and produced a certificate of her fitness, signed by the clergyman and several of the leading inhabitants of her parish. Yet Sarah was not exactly fit for the bench, having received certain information about her, subjected her moral character to the fiery ordeal of cross-examination, and lo! when the fire was extinguished, there was no moral character left, and Sarah was refused her license. It is to be hoped that ministers and respectable inhabitants will in future be more careful, for though the act is an excellent one, it will be quite inoperative without their co-operation; and the character of the agricultural gaugers is really of the greatest importance; the children pass a much longer time in their society than in that of the schoolmaster and the parson.

Suppose we threw out all men not fit for office: why examine women more closely than men? Educated Suffrage will change all this.

HARD TO CORRECT.—The *London Pall-Mall Gazette* opposes woman's right to own property or control her earnings with argument like this:

We believe that no system of law, whether it relates to property, to person, or to political rights, will ever be really just—that is generally beneficial—unless it presupposes and is founded upon the following principles: First, that men are superior to women—that is, that we have more moral, intellectual and physical strength than they have; that we know more, feel more, can do more, are their superiors in every sense in which one class of beings can be superior to another. Secondly, that families are in the nature of small governments and that the constitution of those governments should be monarchical, the husband being king.

FRAGRANT AND DELICIOUS.—Our friend, Mr. E. F. Smith, of Bergen, New Jersey, brought to our office an elegant bouquet of roses, and a generous treat of the largest and most delicious strawberries ever yet grown, the products of his own garden. Paradise is surely yet to be regained.

LETTER FROM GEO. FRANCIS TRAIN.

QUOTING THE MORTALITY OF NATIONS.—LESSONS THEREIN FOR AMERICA.—HOW AMERICA SUPPORTS ENGLAND.—THE DEATH OF TOADYISM.

DUBLIN, 1868.

TRAIN AS AN EDITOR.

DEAR "REVOLUTION": James Brooks used to say that Train could edit a dozen papers at one time. But that was when I was crowding the columns of the *Express* in my *Saratoga Voices of the Pil*—vainly trying to educate the *Bourbons* to win the race in '64 at Chicago. I am now equally in earnest in my endeavors to educate the voters to Americanize America. GIVE ME GREENBACKS OR GIVE ME WAR. Either will shut out England's supremacy over us. Nothing else can. Never was American more terribly in earnest than I am. Continual dropping will go through the hardest stone. Ten years of constant talking, lecturing, writing, must sooner or later tell on public opinion. I can see my footprints all along the sands of time.

THE EDUCATION OF OUR PARTY.

I am educating a party to believe in American Industry—American Ideas—American Progress. The civil war was a God send. When the North sees how suicidal it is to make a Hungary—a Venice—a Poland—an Ireland in the South, a kinder sentiment will prevail, and white men, *forgiven*, will be considered as good citizens as black men. We want all our country to work out the manifest destiny of all our people. We are in our infancy yet. But, Ye Gods, what a child! Permit me, Mr. Editor, to quote from your own works when glancing at the history of the world.

A RETROSPECT—HOW NATIONS DECAY.

The world has an accepted chronology of six thousand years. Its history and experience in government reach back forty centuries.

It would be an interesting inquiry with what results governments have existed so long, especially in the latter periods and among the most enlightened of the nations. Germany in the former and Spain in the latter portion of the sixteenth century almost ruled the world. Charles the Fifth boasted that his empire saw no setting sun. It included Spain and all her vast provinces, over large part of which to-day wave our own Stars and Stripes.

The national escutcheon bore two globes; and the coin, the two Pillars of Hercules, the then acknowledged boundary of the Eastern world, with the motto, "More beyond."

Spain, too, under Phillip Second, dictated law, learning and religion, especially religion, to unknown millions, not alone in Europe, but in North and South America, Africa and all the Indies. And now in the centre of Europe proper, and remote in its south-western corner, are all that remain there of these two mighty powers of the sixteenth century; figured most appropriately, on the map of the world they once ruled, as two little splashes of blood.

France in the eighth century under Charlemagne, was another mistress of the globe. And Charlemagne was crowned by the Pope "Sovereign of the New Empire of the West." Distant princes and potentates came to do him homage, like the Queen of Sheba to the court of King Solomon. And yet, in less than fifty years, all that mountain of magnificence exploded; and many rival nations sprang from its lava streams of blood and ashes!

A remnant, too, of France was preserved; and its history, for almost eight hundred years, "may be traced, like the tracks of a wounded man, through a crowd, by the blood;" until it culminated in French revolution ("suicide of the eighteenth century," as Carlyle calls that terrible phenomenon) and Napoleon Bonaparte!—*Mortality of Nations*.

WHAT AMERICA WAS AND IS TO ENGLAND.

America has been the shirt, pantaloons, and coat—everything but the hat and boots of John Bull.

Take Glasgow—a Baillie Nichol Jarvie in size with America, but a lean Rob Roy without her

—while red-faced Daniel Lambert, Liverpool, would be reduced to a Calvin Edson if deprived of the American trade.

England is the world's heart—its pulsations are felt everywhere—seas and rivers are the veins, and shed her blood to do honor to her ideas. Having for so long furnished brain for the whole world, she clings to old habits. While other lands were opening their eyes, England worked hard and got rich, and always preserved her nationality, while Spanish, French, Dutch, and Portuguese colonists intermarried with natives and lost their identity.

Tell an Englishman to improve upon his government, he will ask you to gild refined gold—color the violet—perfume the rose—but hope not to amend the constitution of his country. Why, then, should an American be blamed for having the same feeling of national superiority?

Dates make the African—rice the Asiatic; but the English and American eat beef—hence their iron character. This is an age of iron—iron roads, iron bridges, iron houses, iron fences, iron ships—nothing but the iron will of the iron Duke brought peace to Europe by sending Napoleon to St. Helena.

America has followed England abroad, and copied her at home so long (we are even indebted to an English nobleman for the arms on our national seal); she has faith in our continuing the practice.

THE NATIONAL PARTY OF NEW AMERICA.

But that was old America. That was Free Trade—Specie payments—and all our clothes from England. New America—the national party has a different object. Greenbacks—high wages—a kind word for the poor—no drunkenness—no Restellism—and the world's carrying trade in the coming struggle between two millions of people who do not speak the American language.

THE PRIESTS OF APOLLO AND THE SERPENTS.

The son of Priam, a priest of Apollo, was commissioned to offer a sacrifice to propitiate the god of the sea. But the offering not being acceptable, there came up two enormous serpents from the deep and attacked the priest and his two sons who stood with him at the altar. The father attempted to defend his sons; but the serpents falling upon him, enfolded him and them in their complicated coils, and strangled them to a terrible death. Let this government beware. The very union proposed will only bind and hold us together as in the deadly folds of a serpent more fearful than all the fabled monsters of the past! And so, hitherto, republics are no exception to the general law. Rickets in infancy, convulsions in childhood, or premature rheumatisms, have brought the nations of history to untimely deaths.

Material interests may flourish, and nations grow great and powerful, make wars and conquests, and rule the world. The ancients did all this, but where are those haughty omnipotences now? Charlemagne did but little less, and in half a century his magnificence was brought to nought. Germany and Spain survived a little longer in their glory and grandeur; but now the scanty blood-splash on the map describes them well.—*Mortality of Nations*.

Let us have a Union based on EDUCATED SUFFRAGE. Give black men votes if they can read and write; and don't give white men votes who cannot read and write. And, above all, don't treat a woman any longer as you would a horse or an ox; or use and abuse her as you do.

REVIEW OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE.

Our own nation is not yet a hundred years old, but it had behind it in the beginning, the chronicles of forty or sixty centuries, written mostly in tears and blood. At the end of an eight years' revolutionary war, our new governmental columns were reared, not, like some pagan temples, on human skulls, but on the imbruted bodies and extinguished souls of five hundred thousand chattel slaves. We had our Declaration of Independence, our war of Revolution, and a new Constitution and code of laws. We had a Washington for our first President, a John Jay

for Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, and a constellation of senators, statesmen and sages who challenged the respect and admiration of mankind. We closed that dispensation with James Buchanan as Chief Magistrate, and Roger B. Taney as Chief Justice, with his diabolical Dred Scott Decision, and with a war of Treason and Rebellion which deluged the land in the blood of more than half a million of men. We had multiplied our slaves to four millions, with new cruelties and horrors added to the system, and at least ten generations of them were lost in unknown graves. The new republican President pledged his official word and honor to the rebels already in arms, that, would they but return to their allegiance, he would favor amendments to the Constitution that should not only render slave property more secure than ever before, but also make its old guarantees and safeguards, *Fugitive Slave law and all*, forever "irrevocable" by any act or decree of Congress!

So we were endeavoring to bulwark and balustrade our slave-system about, in the name of a Christian Republicanism, when it was struck by the lightnings of a righteous retribution, and the world is rid of it forever.

And our old nationality went down in the ruin. Now we are divided, distracted, deranged in currency, commerce, diplomacy, with State and Federal liabilities resting on the people, the producing people, amounting to not less than six thousand millions of dollars, not to speak of current expenditures which are also appalling; with a President whose weakness finds no parallel but in his wickedness, with a Secretary of State who has become his full counterpart in both, and a Senate too cowardly, or too corrupt, to impeach the one or to seek the removal of the other!

For more than two years we have been attempting to restore the fragments of our once boasted Union. With the history and experience of forty centuries shining back upon us, so far we have failed. And under any existing or proposed policy we shall fail. By all the claims of justice and righteousness, we deserve to fail; for we are still defying those claims.—*Mortality of Nations*.

RAINBOWS ALL AROUND THE WESTERN SKIES.

No, no, Mr. Pillsbury, we have not failed. I see rainbows all over the sky. How bright the morning of our new America. How pure the air, now slavery is gone. We needed a Johnson to destroy Congress—we needed a Congress to destroy Johnson—we needed a war to destroy slavery. We needed a Peace that has been no Peace, to kill off Demagogues that swarmed upon the party of power. We needed just what has been; and now we need "THE REVOLUTION." It was necessary to kill off the *Anti-Slavery Standard* with its inhuman inconsistencies—and the *Independent* with its false political and theological generalities and its quack medicines—and the *Tribune* with its dishonest professions. And now we need Greenbacks for the million or a Fenian war to kill off Toadyism to England.

GEO. FRANCIS TRAIN.

SENATOR SUMNER ON EQUAL RIGHTS.—Mr. Sumner has published his definition of Equal Rights in a letter thus:

SENATE CHAMBER, JUNE 22, 1868.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 18th in reference to the eligibility of colored men to Congress. I know of no ground on which he could be excluded from his seat, if duly elected; and I should welcome the election of a competent representative of the colored race to either House of Congress as a final triumph of the cause of equal rights. Until this step is taken, our success is incomplete.

Yours truly,

CHARLES SUMNER.

What would the honorable senator say to this change in the letter?:

DEAR SIR: I have your letter in reference to the eligibility of a woman to Congress. I know of no ground on which she could be excluded from her seat, if duly elected; and I should welcome the election of a competent woman to either house as a final triumph of the cause of equal rights. Until this step is taken our success is incomplete.

Yours truly,

CHARLES SUMNER.

MUCH valuable matter, in type, has been crowded out this week.

The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, } Editors.
PARKER PILLSBURY,
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, JULY 2, 1868.

TAMMANY HALL PLATFORM.

HAVING devoted ourselves to the study of platforms for some weeks, we have come to the conclusion that man has made as signal a failure in this direction as he ever has in the art of government. And as we are identified, it seems, in the public mind with Tammany Hall democrats, we feel some responsibility for the success of the coming Convention. Knowing that in the nature of things, man can have but half an idea, we fear our democratic brethren will repeat the blunder of Chicago. To save the nation from such a calamity, the

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA present to them the following platform.

SUFFRAGE.

While legislation has hitherto aimed to secure all MEN the enjoyment of the inalienable right of suffrage, and as sex is the most odious and unnatural of all forms of aristocracy and most dangerous to the state, we demand the recognition of WOMAN in the Reconstruction, that wealth, virtue and education may outweigh the incoming tide of pauperism, ignorance and crime that threatens our very existence as a nation.

STATE RIGHTS.

As this government was formed by a compact between the several states, and the tendency of power, whether in the individual or the government, is to self-aggrandizement and usurpation, in case of any difficulty arising between the state and federal governments as to the extent, abuse or usurpation of power,—while it is the right and the duty of the federal power to interfere for the protection of the liberties of all citizens under its flag,—yet, the proper judge in the last resort, would be a convention of all the states called to decide on the question at issue.

RECONSTRUCTION.

Universal Amnesty and Universal Suffrage, as measures of justice and peace, are better and cheaper than a Standing Army and Freedmen's Bureau at a cost of \$250,000,000 a year. The people have grown wise enough to trace the circle of misery through the tangled meshes of the world—the cunning legislation by which the few rob the many, and by means of jails, prisons, and standing armies hold them at bay and prevent them from avenging their wrongs.

THE WARDS OF THE NATION.

"As the Ballot is the Columbiad of our political power, and every citizen who has it is a full armed monitor," we demand this sure protection for all—MEN and WOMEN; including, of course, the mothers, wives and daughters of the brave men who fell in our last revolution. A place in all the profitable and honorable employments, and a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, are better than charity; for virtue and dignity can only be maintained by self-dependence and self-support. "Give a man a right over my subsistence," says Alexander Hamilton, "and he has a right over my whole moral being."

BREAD AND THE BALLOT.

As labor is ever degraded by disfranchisement, and as capital uses the cheap labor of woman to depress man's wages, and extend the hours of his toil in all those trades where she works by his side, it is clearly the interest of laboring men to extend the right of suffrage to the women of the nation, who are now fast coming to compete with them in the world of work.

INTERNATIONAL RIGHTS.

It is the duty of the government to protect its citizens—native-born or naturalized in foreign lands, and to demand the immediate release of those now confined in British jails for no crime committed on its soil.

PUBLIC LANDS.

No more of the public lands should be granted to any corporation under any pretext whatever; and all lands not disposed of should be withdrawn from the market and sold only in small quantities to actual settlers. All soldiers and sailors should be entitled to a quarter section of land, and those disabled in the recent war be supported at the public expense.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

We want economy in the appropriations by Congress, and taxes laid for revenue purposes, to meet the necessary and proper expenses of the government, and not to enrich a favored few by class or sectional legislation.

We need a new American system of finance and political economy, which will relieve American interests from the financial control of Europe and protect labor from the tyranny of capital. A system that compels five-sixths of the human family to ceaseless toil for a mere hand-to-mouth subsistence is clearly false and oppressive.

SPECIE PAYMENTS.

An immediate return to specie payments would so derange trade and commerce, and paralyze the whole industry of the country as to make the payment of the national debt impossible, and compel absolute repudiation. While the West has not money enough for its business wants, and the South no money at all, the National Debt, created by inflation, can never be paid by contraction.

FINANCE.

1. Government to pay off the 5-20 bonds in Legal Tender Notes, and these to be funded at the option of the holder into 3 per cent. convertible bonds, subject to no taxes.

2. Greenbacks shall be the lawful money or currency. The \$300,000,000 of National Bank notes, and \$50,000,000 3 per cent. certificates to be withdrawn and replaced by \$350,000,000 of greenbacks, thus saving about \$26,500,000 per annum.

3. Government to issue currency bonds bearing three per cent. annual interest in exchange for Greenbacks, again reconvertible into Greenbacks at par on demand, and free from taxation.

4. The Secretary of the Treasury to keep only a reasonable balance in the Treasury Department—say \$100,000,000 as a maximum—and all above that sum to be used in buying and cancelling the six or five per cent. interest bonds. This change will probably save about \$20,000,000 annually in interest.

5. The expenditures for the army to be reduced to \$30,000,000 annually; and every regiment shall consist of not less than one thousand men. When regiments fall below one thousand, they shall be disbanded or incorporated with other

regiments. The pay of all army officers not in actual service to cease during such term. This would save about \$170,000,000 per annum.

6. The expenditures for the navy to be reduced to \$20,000,000 annually, thus saving about \$60,000,000.

7. These several changes would effect a total immediate reduction in the people's burdens of about \$276,500,000 per annum, representing at six per cent. interest, a capital or debt of \$4,600,000,000, thus extinguishing at a blow a burden on the people equal to double the amount of our present National Debt.

8. The income tax to be repealed. Taxes to be imposed on all fixed property, including bonds and mortgages, state, railway, insurance, and bank stocks, and all government bonds, excepting the three per cent. convertible bonds enumerated above.

In behalf of the WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON,
MRS. HORACE GREELEY,
SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
ABBY HOPPER GIBBONS,

Central Committee,

37 Park Row (Room 20), New York.

FARTHER NEW HAMPSHIRE DEVELOPMENTS.

A SHORT time since we unrolled a section or two of New Hampshire political corruption. Mr. Fogg, our late minister to Switzerland, and a leading republican and editor, overhauled the record of Mr. Chandler, late Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, under Mr. McCulloch. The disclosures of Mr. Fogg were most damaging to the reputation of the ex-assistant Treasurer. He replies in a ten page pamphlet, and if he does not wash his own political and official robes quite white, he succeeds in doing what is commonly deemed the next best thing, namely, making his opponent look if possible even more foul than himself. Fogg proved that Chandler had held office nearly every hour since he "was old enough to cast his first vote." To which Chandler rejoins, and ditto you, O Fogg! and then reads him a page in his pamphlet thus:

In 1855, when the republicans first carried New Hampshire, you became State Reporter. You were State Printer from time to time, and at last went Minister to Switzerland, when by living meanly and in a manner discreditable to an American Minister, while drawing your salary of seven thousand five hundred dollars in gold on the pretence that you were spending it for the expenses of your mission, and to maintain the dignity of your position, converting two-thirds of it into greenbacks, thereby doubling it, and investing it in untaxable bonds, now worth more than par, you amassed a fortune of FORTY OR FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS, while those at home were fighting the severest political and military contests the country ever knew; the soldier receiving for his valor and services, thirteen dollars a month in Greenbacks. Immediately on your return from Switzerland, you solicited employment from the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, as a special agent of the department in Europe. You received employment as a cotton lawyer in New Orleans from the department, receiving six thousand dollars for two months time and opportunities. You aided in procuring from Andrew Johnson, the appointment of Hon. Daniel Clark as District Judge for New Hampshire, by representing, among other things, that Gov. Smyth would appoint you to fill out Mr. Clark's term in the Senate, and that you would go into the Senate opposed to impeachment, and as his (the President's) personal friend. You continued your personal relations with the president and his family even down to the vote of Articles of Impeachment, so that your name was mentioned for various important offices within his gift; and as late as January, 1868, within one month before Articles of Impeachment were voted, you had a privat

interview with the President at the White House, and during that visit to Washington, you solicited, and procured to be solicited for you, the office of Assistant Treasurer of the United States at Boston.

And a great deal more of the same sort. It seems most unfortunate when such honest men fall out. They find it hard afterwards to let each other alone, and the world will form unfavorable opinions of one, if not both of them. In this instance, both have been almost constantly in office, and, as is well known in New Hampshire and in Washington, by mutually aiding each other before their disagreements. We should not have made so much account of these revelations but for the fact that both parties have been high officials, and their work wholesale in its extent as well as criminality. For instance, Chandler charges Fogg with surrendering, as cotton lawyer in New Orleans, in two months, nine thousand six hundred and sixty-five bales of cotton to private claimants; being every bale under seizure at the time except twelve, for which no claimant appeared! Chandler's connection with the Treasury department at the time doubtless enables him to speak with confidence on the subject. And his use of the words "job," "steal," "bribery," "corruption," and their like, in the same connection are wonderfully significant. But lest we weary our readers, we close by lamenting once more that these honest patriots ever fell out by the way.

P. P.

JUDGE CHASE AS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

THE Boston Commonwealth dares be honest to Judge Chase as to his fitness for President of the United States. It says his age, experience, talents and commanding person all favorably attract attention to him as one of the few surviving statesmen who would adorn the great office, and to whom the office would naturally seem to belong. And the same authority adds, that he is of unimpeachable personal character, stands high in the wide-spreading and influential religious denomination to which he belongs, with an unquestioned belief in equal rights for all the world; and in a word, it closes the description with the declaration that he has elements of strength possessed by few of the public men of the day, and which any party might be proud to recognize as belonging to a conspicuous member.

All of which being eminently true, what shall be thought of a party that deliberately, and without provocation, sacrifices such a man as its candidate, and substitutes one whose profoundest admirer never claimed for him in any but a moderate degree a single one of the many superior excellencies ascribed to Judge Chase? There is a work in hand requiring precisely the talent, in kind and degree, attributed by the Commonwealth to him; and until the voice of the people began to be heard in tones of rebuke that this work was not more rapidly and effectively done by the party in power, Gen. Grant was not seriously thought of as the Presidential candidate. The elections last autumn stunned the republicans into apprehensions of danger, and from that time only availability has been considered. And no honest man will pretend that Gen. Grant's nomination has any other basis. New Hampshire republicans first blew the trumpet, as a state, at their Convention to nominate their governor, though it was both a faint and uncertain sound, disturbing a good deal the harmony of the party brotherhood. But from that time the

danger has been thickening, and the popularity of Grant has increased in proportion! So that really, the more need there is of the superior ability of a statesman for President, the more the party have been and are determined to have one who is no statesman. Should the democrats gain the Presidential victory, and all the dreaded and predicted evils follow with which republicans are endeavoring to frighten the people, the party must blame only themselves. And that the democratic leaders, northern and southern, are bad enough to restore slavery, repudiate the national debt, and desolate the country with another war, this editor neither doubts nor denies.

The Boston Traveller begins on the Chief-Justice differently, intimating that when he heard of Grant's nomination he was "amiable as a sore-headed bear off his feed;" was "sad, sour, sore, sulky and silent." He said he didn't like what was done at Chicago "in groaning, grouty, growling and grumbling style." But the Traveller adds with its characteristic magnanimity, "There is one thing which must, in common fairness, be said in behalf of the venerable Judge, and that is, that he does not mean to make any sacrifice of principle to get a nomination for the Presidency." Is that the reason the republicans wouldn't have him? "If the democratic party put him up," the Traveller continues, "it must be because they have come over to him, and not because of his having gone over to them; a fact most creditable to him, showing that though he is ambitious, he is not unprincipled."

Such tributes to Judge Chase's integrity from republican sources are truly most honorable to him, but a sad commentary on the character of the party itself. Without reflecting the least disrespect on Gen. Grant, indeed awarding him all the few merits his party ascribe to him, there is still margin enough left to write of the Chief-Justice, that, taking him at republican estimate, his rejection for the military chief, at a time like the present, is an act of recklessness and desperation that fortunately for the good of mankind has few parallels in history.

P. P.

SHAMEFUL CORRUPTION.

THE Springfield Republican says it has come to be useless for any honest man to try to get an honest measure through the legislature of that state. It says the Lobby not only controls the legislation, but, taking time by the forelock, it provides as far as possible that only such as it can manage shall be elected. The lobbyists openly boast that there has not been a convention in the state for ten years that they have not controlled. "Such," it adds, "is the dishonorable position of our Massachusetts politics to-day." And the most careful observation and reading convince us that there is but little difference in this respect among all the states, while Washington and Congress overtop them all. Revolutions are the thunder-storms which purify the moral atmosphere of such corruptions. Why may not High Art slavery of white men cause war, as well as of black?

CALIFORNIA.—This last month brings us one hundred subscribers from California, with such letters of regard and appreciation as make our heart leap with joy. While supercilious critics, for reasons of their own, are trying in public and private to belie us and undermine our influence, the heart of the people promptly respond to our most radical utterances.

NEW HAMPSHIRE CONVENTION OF UNIVERSALISTS.

THIS association held its annual gathering last week in Weare. The attendance might be called large, inasmuch as every one of its acting auxiliary bodies was represented. But in all the State, there appeared to be only seven societies with a settled pastor. The proceedings were very harmonious until the disturber of all association appeared, the question of Radical and Conservative. For happily, the genius of progress reaches the church as well as the state, and no demonization is too small or too heterodox to escape its pervasion. The church dreads all innovation, and erects all kinds of dikes and dams (word of two spellings) against it. Andover Theological Seminary has a creed of several pages, covering the whole of Calvinism as it came down from the darker ages, including these, with other like terrible utterances:

I believe the wicked will awake to shame and everlasting contempt, and with devils, be plunged into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone forever and ever!

And that there shall be no variableness or shadow of turning in points of doctrine, the following is expressly provided:

The preceding Declaration shall be repeated by every Professor in this Seminary, in the presence of the Trustees at the expiration of every successive period of five years; and no man shall be continued as President or Professor in this Institution, who shall not continue to approve himself to the satisfaction of the Trustees, a man of sound and orthodox principles in Divinity, agreeably to the system of evangelical doctrines contained in the Westminster Shorter Catechism, and more concisely delineated in the aforesaid Creed.

At the inauguration of these officers, it is required that they "make and publicly subscribe" the whole of this Declaration of Faith. And then, "five years" is all that it is believed the soundest of them can be safely trusted without solemn renewal of the obligation.

The Universalists are becoming equally vigilant in guarding their theological portals. And the angels of "the Seven Churches" in New Hampshire made haste at the Weare meeting to set limits to the spirit of inquiry and toleration, though the conservative element prevailed by only a single vote. Had the sense of the very large and intelligent audience present been taken, instead of the dozen delegates who alone had constitutional right to vote, the result would have been greatly in the opposite direction.

But what would most have interested the readers of "THE REVOLUTION," was the adoption, by unanimous vote, of the following excellent resolution, on the Rights of Woman:

Resolved, That we regard with satisfaction, the progress of our denomination in the elevation of woman. We congratulate her on her entrance to the pulpit, and more especially on the success which already attends her labors as a minister of the Gospel. We rejoice that so many collegiate and theological institutions are now open for her admission; and we trust the day is not distant, when all the learning, the laws and religion of the land shall be hallowed by her influence; and when the polls as well as the pulpit shall be sanctified and purified by her presence, and all human rights, privileges, and immunities be accorded to her as the equal of man.

The whole house echoed the voice of the delegates on this question in an unmistakable manner. The Universalists have already a number of able and excellent women as ministers, who are becoming both pillars and ornaments to the denomination; and some, if not all, of their theological seminaries admit them as pupils. Most of their journals, too, favor Woman's Suffrage, and will greet the Weare Resolution with great joy. The people are

ahead of their pulpits in toleration and charity, and every year they are more and more boldly asserting their rights, a consummation devoutly to be wished in every religious organization.

P. P.

HON. MR. ASHLEY, OF OHIO.

ONE of the ablest speeches that has been delivered this session in Congress, was given on the 1st of June, by Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, on so amending the Constitution as to abolish the office of Vice-President, Presidential electors, and our whole system of caucuses and conventions. No one can read this speech without seeing that the office of Vice-President is clearly useless, and has already in several cases proved a most dangerous one. He shows the necessity of recognizing the right of the whole people to a voice in the election of their Chief Magistrate, for only by a faithful discharge of individual duties, can free institutions be maintained. He clearly points out the abuses of our present system of electors, caucuses and conventions, in placing the government in the hands of a few political tricksters, who use its power wholly for personal aggrandizement.

And he suggests the remedy for all these evils in the awaking of every citizen to the fact, that in a republic, each man has a duty to perform in the organization and administration of the government. When the right of the people to choose their officers, from a sheriff to a President, is a fact, and not, as now, a fiction, we shall have our best men in public places. It is the interest of the many to have wise rulers; but it is the interest of the few to have cunning men in authority, those who are available for party and personal purposes. Hence, every step we take towards the diffusion of power, is a step towards virtue, safety and strength. In demanding citizen suffrage (not male or female?) and declaring that it is the duty of Congress to secure it in every state of the Union, Mr. Ashley points his party to the first step in reconstruction, for it is futile to talk of forcing on the South a higher civilization than we recognize at home. A drunken man cannot preach temperance. Example is better than precept. When we demand the enfranchisement of black men in the Southern states, let us secure this right to them in Ohio and New York. We wish this speech could be placed in the hands of every man and woman in the country. It is a plain, common sense statement of the reforms we need to-day in our system of elections, and the necessary amendments to our Constitution. We have room only for a brief extract of what we consider the most important part of the speech, that which relates to the inalienable right of every citizen in a republic:

I want citizenship and suffrage to be synonymous. To put the question beyond the power of states to withhold it, I now propose the amendment to article fourteen, now submitted.

A large number of republicans who concede that the qualifications of an elector ought to be the same in every state, and it is more properly a national than a state question, do not believe Congress has the power under our present constitution to enact a law conferring suffrage in the states, nevertheless they are ready and willing to vote for such an amendment to the constitution as shall make citizenship and suffrage uniform throughout the nation.

For this purpose I have added to the proposed amendment for the election of President a section on suffrage, to which I invite special attention.

This is the third or fourth time I have brought forward a proposition on suffrage substantially like the one just presented to the House. I do so again because I believe

the question of citizenship suffrage a question which ought to be met and settled now. Important and all-absorbing as many questions are which now press themselves upon our consideration, to me no question is so vitally important as this. Tariffs, taxation, and finance ought not to be permitted to supersede a question affecting the peace and personal security of every citizen, and, I may add, the peace and security of the nation.

No party can be justified in withholding the ballot from any citizen of mature years, native or foreign born, except such as are *non compos* or are guilty of infamous crimes; nor can they justly confer this great privilege upon one class of citizens to the exclusion of another class simply because one is white and the other black.

True democracy pleads for the equal rights of all men before the law. It demands the ballot for every man, because, under a government such as ours, the ballot is the poor man's weapon of protection and defense. It gives him dignity and power; it recognizes his manhood and secures him justice; it makes the government his agent instead of his master. We all know from experience something of the educational influence and self-protecting power of the ballot.

It quickens and expands the thoughts of men and enables them the better to comprehend their own interests and the higher and more important interests of the state. To secure this self-educating, self-protecting power to all, I again press upon your consideration this amendment. Its adoption will make the national Constitution what it ought to be, the shield of every citizen, so that no state may ever again deprive him, without just cause, of this highest privilege of American citizenship: so that hereafter, if a citizen remove from one state into another, he shall not on that account be deprived by state law of the ballot and be treated in his own country as an alien.

Pass this amendment and we shall conform our national Constitution to our new condition as a nation. We will thereby place in the hands of each citizen a new power for its preservation, so that we shall become, in fact, one people, living under a common constitution, which is the outgrowth of civilization, experience, and necessity; a constitution which recognizes justice as the supreme law and reflects the convictions and aspirations of a free and united people. To this proposition, so long cherished and believed by me to be for the best interest of my country, I invoke the considerate judgment of all men and an impartial verdict at the bar of public opinion.

LOSE OR WIN?

TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND THE FOURTH OF JULY.

In the quadrennial fight for the presidency there are always two features. A cause and a candidate; something to fight for and a man to represent it.

To make a strong fight, there should be a staunch platform and a popular candidate, but particularly a staunch platform. This, however, to be substantial and successfully resist the onslaught of the enemy, must be braced by the consistent record of the party.

An extraordinary opportunity is now presented to the Democratic party to achieve a glorious victory, if it will only be wise in time and true to itself.

Will the party prove true to its great record? Does it realize that it is the party that by Thomas Jefferson fathered the Declaration of Independence. The party that by General Jackson swore, "The union must and shall be preserved." The first political party, any part of which took square ground against slavery, by nominating and voting for a presidential candidate on that issue? The party that extended the right of suffrage both by convention and in Assembly in the State of New York, also in Maine, Ohio, and Tennessee. Always in the past the party of progress, is it possible that that party will go back on itself?

As regards the opposition of the party to the late war, an impartial observer will not fail to give due credit to the sentiment which was the foundation of most of said opposition, viz: that the people of the South had a right to say how

they should be governed. Horace Greeley took the same ground, the only difference between him and it, being in what each considered, "*the people*." Logically, the opposition to the late war was consistent; practically, it was a great mistake, as was also the cry against emancipation; but what party has not made mistakes. The course of the party during the war, was really a digression from the straight path of its previous history. In all former times it has been, according to its own views, the party of LIBERTY. Does the party now intend to stultify itself and go back on its own great record, fly in the face of fate, curse God and die? We will not speak for individuals.

The fools are not all dead yet; but it is not possible that the democratic party proposes to repeat their folly at New York, and declare the Union of 1868 a farce, as they declared the war in 1864 a failure; that declaration proved a failure; and surely the party will not pursue a policy that will make another "lost cause" inevitable.

Does the democratic party indeed intend to lose? Then let it resurrect the fossilized remains of Pendleton, Parker, and Pierce, and following the fortunes of Pomeroy the fanatic, hang all the maimed soldiers!

Will the party ignore the age? Let the Rip Van Winkles defy the Nineteenth Century, and, going backward instead of forward, reopen the question of man vs. negro,—follow Doolittle the dunce in the anatomical style of campaign he has already inaugurated; import a live gorilla, and with Du Chaillu as lecturer, illustrate the African by the monkey as a manikin, introducing skulls, skin, and shin-bones,—and insisting on the measurement of the length of heel as a voting qualification. Tut, tut. No, no. This is night-mare; the ugly dream of a bad digestion. Wake up! oh, democratic party. This is not the year of the world 1650, when Canaan was cursed!

It is not the deluge that has just passed over but the convulsion of emancipation. It is not Noah who has escaped being drowned; only Andrew Johnson who has escaped impeachment. Bless your old heart, this is the Christian era: year of grace, 1868. "Old things have passed away, and all things have become new;" new times, new thoughts, new measures, new men. The world revolves from west to east:—every morning's sun shines on a new day,—and unless you can reproduce old Joshua and repeat Gibeon, you must accept the established order of things!

Negro slavery is abolished, the *Liberator* retires, and "THE REVOLUTION" advances! This is the year 1868,—time, presidential campaign; the nominee and sole dependence of the republican party is Gen. Grant; and that party holds its breath while you decide on your course. Wide awake, now! Are you going in to win? The republican strength and trust is their man. Let your strength be your cause.

A cause now calls for a conquering ally. It is the voice of humanity! No matter though it have suffered ridicule,—it has imperishable vitality.

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers!"

Declare, then, for the cause of humanity. A cause overflowing with life; one that will awake enthusiasm unbounded; that will win heroes for adherents; that will be invincible! Such a cause now calls for conquering allies. The call is trumpet-toned and resounds throughout two hemispheres; it is the voice of humanity!—and the voice of humanity is the voice of Deity! He that hath ears to hear let him hear!

J. H. S.

WASHINGTON LETTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 23d, 1868.

CONGRESS has recently passed a bill authorizing the payment of salary due Mrs. Ella E. Hobart, for services as Chaplain in the Union Army during the war, the salary to be the same as that received by men who filled similar positions. Mrs. Hobart was a Chaplain in the 1st Wisconsin Volunteer Artillery. The Governor of Wisconsin declined to commission her until the War Department should consent to recognize the validity of the commission. This, Mr. Stanton refused to do, on account of the sex of the applicant, although her application was endorsed by President Lincoln. She has consequently been unable to obtain pay for her services hitherto. Especial credit is due Hon. Benjamin M. Boyer, of Pennsylvania, for the decision which at last enables her to draw her pay. Mr. Boyer is a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, to which the bill was referred; he investigated the subject, collected the facts together, and recommended the committee to report favorably on the bill.

The much talked of 20 per cent. bill, as amended by Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, and Hon. W. S. Lincoln, of New York, so as to include the women of the departments in its provisions, passed the House last week, but through the influence and efforts of Mr. Bingham, Mr. Butler, and a few others, it was reconsidered a few days after, and consigned to the table. It is evident that Mr. Butler's chief objection to the bill, consists in the fact, that it includes both male and female clerks. In a speech on an entirely different subject after the bill had passed, Mr. Butler went out of his way to state, with alamy malignity, that while the extra compensation-bill was under discussion, some of the clerks, "both male and female," were in the galleries "watching their men." If they had been "watching" him, he would not, probably, have complained; but he is hardly the style of man that any woman of taste would care to "watch" from the galleries or any other place. Perhaps "that's what's the matter." This man ought to take up his residence in some obscure corner of China, or Turkey, where women never appear in public. The United States of America is no fit place for such a man to live in, to say nothing of his being a representative of the people. It is a fact, acknowledged with sorrow among the people of this country, that their representatives need "watching," and both men and women are considered to have a perfect right to "watch" from the galleries. It is supposed that the galleries are there for that especial purpose. When a fair share of the seats on the floor of the House and the Senate are occupied by women, as representatives of the people, it is hoped that Congressmen and Senators will not need so much "watching" as they do now.

But, seriously, how dare this man slur the women of the Department, who are, many of them, infinitely above him, not only in moral character, but in the higher order of intellect? If a few unworthy women have been appointed through the influence of certain Senators and Representatives of this man's low moral status, are the majority of women-clerks to be despised, jeered, and scoffed at for this? What right would I have to cast a slur upon Mr. Butler's wife or daughter, because they have associated with him, perhaps necessarily, for so many years?

Hon. Lewis Selye, one of the people's representatives from New York State, a rich old whiskey sop, said to have made a pile of money, half a million or more in the liquor traffic, is another inveterate opponent of the proposition to increase the pay of the women clerks. This man dares to repeat plainly on all possible occasions the infamous slanders of the women clerks which Butler only hints at. When the twenty per cent. bill was amended, so as to include the women in the Departments, he commenced working with all his might against it. He has been heard on many occasions, and once on the floor of Congress in conversation with a number of other members, to denounce the women in the Departments, as a class, in the most infamous terms, and in language which cannot be repeated in the columns of "THE REVOLUTION." A number of times he has been heard to say, that if he had his way every woman should be turned out of the Departments on short notice. Such men cannot endure the thought of women being employed in labor that is in any degree remunerative. They understand very well the fact that it is the shamefully low rate of wages a woman's work commands which causes the abodes of infamy, disease and death throughout our land to be replenished. It is safe to distrust the morals of men whom you hear speaking against woman's right to equal pay with man for equal work, or denouncing the women in government depart-

ments as immoral, or opposing the employment of women in government departments.

It is an acknowledged fact that Mr. William E. Chandler, formerly Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, was always opposed to the employment of women in the Departments. His friends do not deny that this is true, but they offer various stupid reasons or excuses for the fact.

There are women in this city who could explain the motives which animated this man better than his friends; poor women who sought employment in the Treasury Department when he was in power there. Poor enough these women were, and needing employment, God only knows how much; but they refused to pay the price demanded of them, and they were not appointed. Particular instances might be mentioned, and facts proved, but women are not willing to have their sorrows and degradations dragged before the public. For every woman feels degraded and debased by the fact of a man having dared to propose to her dishonorable bargains.

These suggestions may furnish Mr. Chandler with subject matter for another pamphlet. Your readers may not be aware that he has written and printed a pamphlet for the purpose of denying the charges made against him by the *Independent Democrat*, of Concord, N. H., the principal paper of his own party in that state, which expose, by the way, was reprinted in a late number of "THE REVOLUTION." The style of argument pursued in this pamphlet, moreover, is precisely that which will suit the subject I have suggested; for Mr. Chandler, in replying to the attack of the *Independent Democrat*, adopts the tactics usually pursued by children, and some ill-natured lords of creation say, by women, too. He does not attempt to disprove the charges preferred against himself, but endeavors to establish the fact that his opponent has been just as criminal as he.

If calling attention to filth on the garments of others would whiten his own, he would, doubtless, stand forth clothed in robes of angelic purity; for it is well known that many other men of power and influence in departments have used, and are still using, their power and their influence in the attempt to debase women who have desired appointments.

In view of this fearful state of affairs, and as our only hope of a remedy, we are waiting and praying for the passage of Mr. Jenckes's Civil Service bill, providing, among other things, for open, competitive examinations of candidates for office, and for promotions from a lower to a higher grade of clerkship on account of merit.

There can be little doubt that the passage of this bill would secure, as is intended, "a radical reform in the manner of appointing government officers."

JULIA ARCHIBALD HOLMES.

A VOICE FROM TENNESSEE.

NASHVILLE, TENN., June 20th, 1868.

SURAN B. ANTHONY: I received two copies of "THE REVOLUTION" soon after writing my letter to you for a copy. I am very much pleased with its beautiful appearance, and still more with its ability as a reform journal. I am happily disappointed to find what I expected to be a journal advocating but little more than Woman's Rights, one of the most liberal and comprehensive reform journals the country affords. I find in examining its platform of principles, it almost fully agrees with the platform of the National Labor Reform Party, which was adopted at Chicago, August, 1867, except perhaps on Woman Suffrage, which, I don't think, was called to their attention at the Labor Congress. I shall, however, as a member of that party (now organizing) insist that this plank be incorporated, in justice to American women. I am glad you are not entrained by any of the existing political parties, and I hope you will deem it best to join with the workingmen of the country in forming a new party which will look to the interests of the masses of the people, instead of earnestly intriguing for the purpose of exalting the few. The first step I know of having been taken for the advance of woman in Tennessee, politically, was taken in the Workingmen's Union at our last meeting. I made a motion to so amend our constitution as to admit women to membership, which I defended with a few remarks, after which the amendment was unanimously adopted, thereby helping and encouraging women to organize, which is their only hope, "for in union there is strength."

Wishing you a bountiful success, I am, respectfully,
H. N. CRAMER.

A LONDON "lady of title" advertises to give \$500 a year to any one who will take care of a favorite spaniel while she goes abroad. A family where there are no children or other animals preferred.

FREE TRADE.

ALL depends on definitions. Free trade may be a very good or a very bad thing. Free trade, like free speech, free labor, free men and free women, is one of the attributes of the Divine Social Order, but is not possible, in its best sense, in our form of so-called civilization.

Much may be known of a man by the company he keeps. What is called free trade, has been advocated in this country mainly by the democrats, although when in power they have never dared to establish anything but the swindle of "a tariff for revenue," a contrivance that has all the evils of a protective tariff and none of its benefits. It is to the democrats, also, that we owe the first attempt at protection, but it was protection not of labor or laborers, but of the Southern slaveholder in the raising of cotton and the enslaving of his fellow-men, who had the misfortune to be black and weak. No party has ever been base enough to bid so high for the votes of these who claimed that capital rightfully owned the laborer, as that which advocates a pretended free trade, that party which is actually leucocracy while it is nominally democracy.

Is it not *prima facie* evidence against this pretence called free trade, that it should have such advocates? It has its most earnest supporters among importers of foreign goods, especially among foreign agents, who, by a knack they have with the Custom House, control the importations, as against those who honestly pay the duties. What such people mean by free trade, is freedom to buy my labor at the lowest starvation price, and to sell its products at the highest swindling price. The problem of free trade will solve itself when the laborer is free to possess the product of his labor.

Apply justice to the production and possession of property, and its exchange will speedily arrange itself. Free the laborer from the domination of capital by making him the owner of the capital he produces, and you have the conditions which make genuine free trade possible.

F. S. C.

ACCEPT THE RIGHT MAN, WHICHEVER PARTY NOMINATES HIM!

THIS clamor against the Chief-Justice was not, as is pretended, occasioned by his conduct in the Impeachment trial. That this conduct was wise and impartial, scarcely one intelligent man can doubt. This clamor proceeded from the purpose of preventing his nomination to the Presidency. It is said that he desires to be President. But a desire for this high office is not necessarily culpable. Instead of being prompted in all instances by selfishness, it may in some instances be born of a high patriotism and a disinterested philanthropy. For one I should rejoice to see the Chief-Justice in the Presidency; and I say this, after a many-years intimate acquaintance with him—after, much personal observation of the workings of his head and heart. I, however, expect to vote for Grant and Colfax. I like them both; and, in the main, I like the platform on which they stand. Nevertheless, if contrary to my expectations, the democrats shall have the wisdom to nominate the Chief-Justice, and along with him a gentleman of similar views and spirit—a gentleman honest both toward the nation's creditors and toward the negro—I shall prefer to vote for the democratic candidates. And why, in the case of such nomination by the democrats, should not every republican be willing, nay glad, to sustain the nomination? If the democrats, at last sick and ashamed, as I have no doubt tens of thousands of them are, of ministering to the mean spirit of caste—prating for a "white man's government," and defying the sentiment of the civilized world—shall give up their nonsense and wickedness, and nominate for office such men as republicans have been eager to honor—how wanting in magnanimity and in devotion to truth, and how enslaved to party, would republicans show themselves to be, were they not to welcome this overture, and generously respond to these concessions!—Gerrit Smith.

TENNESSEE MANUAL LABOR UNIVERSITY.—The Secretary of this school visits this city in behalf of the above Institution, to secure means to enable the Incorporators to erect suitable buildings for the instruction of youth of both sexes, intellectually, and in the industrial arts. One person has donated one-half of a Brick Machine, which is five hundred dollars, but five hundred more are wanted to secure it for them. If five or ten liberal persons would respond to their

aid and clear it fully, it would give an impetus to the enterprise that would enable them to begin the construction of their permanent building. The Secretary hopes to have an immediate response from the friends of the Freedmen and women. The school has the endorsement of Gov. Brownlow, and others, prominent men of the state. The Agent, Samuel Lowrey, is stopping at No. 211 West 15th Street, between 7th and 8th Avenues.

MEANING OF THE CHASE MOVEMENT.

From the Baltimore People's Weekly.

ON Broad street, N. Y., a few days since, we met an acquaintance, whom we will call A., an able political and financial writer, thoroughly posted as to New York politics, and withal a cynic. We asked him what was the meaning of the Chase movement? He said that a noted New York politician, B., accustomed to consult him on political affairs, called to discuss the situation. A. said: "These Grant fellows are going in for a big steal. Their 'ring' is made up, and they won't let you and your crowd in. Now you want to steal too."

"Pretty strong and plain language that," said B.

"Well," replied A., "we are here all alone. Nobody hears us. We might as well call things by their right names. No offence meant, and none should be taken. So I repeat your crowd want to steal as badly as Grant's fellows. They won't let you in with them. Then what remains. Pendleton is a virtuous cuss; boasts of his descent from the pure patriots of 1776; imagines that it has fallen to his lot to keep up the family reputation for virtue, and purity, and patriotism. So he won't trade, and there will be no chance for good stealings with him. But there is Chase. He is your man."

B. mused awhile, took up his hat and put it on like a thinking cap. He has ever since been pushing hard for Chase; and this, our cynical friend says, is the true explanation of the Chase movement.

INTERESTS INVOLVED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST.

From the N. J. Patriot.

THERE are varied interests involved in the coming contest, independent of those of a political character, vital as these may be. It is evident that the Radicals are pandering to the wealth of the country, as a means of securing the "sluiceway of war," for they depend upon the free use of money as the most potent weapon they can use. To this end was Gen. Grant nominated in response to the circular issued by Stewart, Astor, and the millionaires of New York, backed by the Wall street gold gamblers.

Now while we are opposed to making any war upon the capital of the nation, or to exciting prejudices against rich and poor, justice demands that the labor of the country should be represented by the democracy as well as capital. The radicals assume the position of foster parent toward the latter, then why should not the democracy stand in the same relation toward the former, now, as in the past? The rank and file of the toilers are with us, and it is our duty to make it apparent that every man who works should act and vote with a party that has never ignored their claims, or disputed their right to assess "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work."

The shortest way, in our opinion, is to have on our ticket for the Vice-Presidency, some known defender of the industrial interests of the country. Such a step would prove that we are in earnest, and as willing to act as to talk. In this connection, we alluded, a few weeks since, to Gen. Cary, of Ohio, who was elected to Congress by the workingmen of Cincinnati, with the endorsement of the democracy, although he had previously been a republican. Since that we have heard the name of Mr. Wm. H. Sylvius, President of the Iron Molders' Interna-

tional Trades' Union spoken. The latter gentleman we know to be familiar with every phase of the financial question, a ready writer and speaker, and on questions of political economy, may be regarded as the John Bright of America. We say this much of Mr. Sylvius, without taking back one word we said in favor of Gen. Cary. Here are two gentlemen to choose from, both of whom possess all the ability essential to the position, and both of whom retain the esteem and confidence of every toiler in the land, and more especially are they so regarded by every Trades' Union co-operative society and labor organization in the country.

TREASURY NOTES.

From the Baltimore People's Weekly.

CALHOUN, in his speech on the Independent Treasury bill, 16th January, 1840, tells what he saw in the war of 1812. He saw men making loans to government and *showing the people* 20 per cent. in the operation; "that is, for every \$80 borrowed the government gave them \$100 in a bond bearing 6 per cent. interest," which he believed "to be in reality, little better than a fraud on the community." He adds:

"Still worse; I saw the government, with the view of conciliating these men who were fleeing the community, permit them to discredit its own paper by refusing to receive its Treasury notes at par."

And all those men, who could be satisfied with "only 20 per cent.," are dead, with perhaps the solitary exception of Melton Ross, who may be seen at Holiday street Theatre whenever the "Ticket-of-Leave Man" makes his appearance. The other survivors are not satisfied with more than 100 per cent. But they are philanthropic gentlemen, and in their concern for the honor and good faith of the people of the United States, they propose to take charge of that great democratic party of which we have all heard so much, organize its caucus, control its nominations and manage its concerns generally. The People, in their primary assemblages, have nominated Pendleton as the People's candidate for the Presidency, because he insists on these men receiving the People's money, Treasury notes, at par. The Bondholders object to that, and are therefore organizing for a caucus nomination whereby to defeat the People's choice, discredit the People's paper, and repudiate the People's money. They want their "pound of flesh," and they want it in gold and silver.

They are, therefore, flooding the mails with letters to the Southern Delegates to the Fourth of July Convention, urging all sorts of reasons why the democratic party should reject the People's nominee, and why the South should unite with the East against the West, where, they assert, Pendleton's chief strength lies.

GREELEYISMS.

"THE self-styled conservatives of that country (France) still blindly, obstinately cling to every venerable abuse, to each moss-grown iniquity, each barnacled oppression, as though church and state would tumble into chaos if it were given up."—*Horace Greeley, Independent, Sept., 1867.*

"We are satisfied that public sentiment does not demand, and would not sustain, an innovation so revolutionary and sweeping, so openly at war with a distribution of duties and functions between the sexes as venerable and pervading as government itself, and involving transformations so radical in social and domestic life."—*Horace Greeley, Chairman of Committee in Constitutional Convention, 1867.*

Here is logic. There are some barnacled oppressions which it will do to battle; those across the ocean, for instance, but not those at our own door. But the more moss-grown and venerable they are in iniquity, the more you must let them alone. It would be impossible to find an oppression more completely barnacled by eternal ages, or by all the ages through which this green earth has swung through space, than the oppression of women; but we must let it severely alone.

More commonly they (opponents of woman suffrage) merely echo the mob's shallow retort to the petition of any strong-minded daughter or sister, who demands that she be allowed a voice in disposing of the money wrenched from her hard earnings by inexorable taxation, or in shaping the laws by which she is ruled, judged, and is liable to be sentenced to prison or death. "It is a woman's business to obey her husband and nourish and train his children." But when she answers, "Very true; but suppose I choose not to have a husband, or am not

chosen for a wife—what then? I am still subject to your laws. Why am I not entitled, as a rational human being, to a voice in shaping them? I have physical needs, and must somehow earn a living. Why should I not be at liberty to earn it in any honest and useful calling?" the mob's flout is hushed, and the legislator is struck dumb, also. They were already at the end of their scanty resources of logic, and it would be cruel for woman to ask further: "Suppose me a wife, and my husband a drunken prodigal, what am I to do then? May I not earn food for my babes without being exposed to have it snatched from their mouths to replenish the rum-seller's till, and aggravate my husband's madness? If some sympathizing relative sees fit to leave me a bequest wherewith to keep my little ones together, why may I not be legally enabled to secure this to their use and benefit? In short, why am I not regarded by the laws as a *soul*, responsible for my acts to God and humanity, and not as a mere body, devoted to the unreasoning service of my husband?" The state gives no answer, and the champions of her policy evince wisdom in imitating her silence."—*Horace Greeley's Introduction to Margaret Fuller's "Woman in the Nineteenth Century."*

"As to woman's voting, our judgment does not favor it, because it would double the cost and trouble of elections to no purpose."—*Horace Greeley, Tribune, Aug. 22, 1866.*

"If any class is fit to be an element or substratum of political power, then it is fit to vote. I cannot consent that half the people of your state shall be good enough to balance an equal number of white freemen in New York, but not good enough to cast a vote. It will not do, governor! be assured of it. There is no analogy in the case of women and children. The husband and father votes for his wife and children; he considers their interest the same as his own; his vote is representative, paternal, comprehensive."—*Horace Greeley's Letter to Governor Perry of South Carolina, May 1, 1866.*

This mode of voting works to a charm, Horace—so economical, so comprehensive, so paternal, especially when we take into consideration the fact that all women have husbands and fathers, and that there is no rum-drinking, no thieving, and no bad laws made by masculine legislation. That little allusion to this sort of thing in your introduction to Margaret Fuller's book was merely a rhetorical flourish, a kind of graceful rounding out to the periods. Besides, you might, at the time it was written, have still been somewhat under Margaret's magnetic influence. She exercised a wonderful charm, you know, over all, women and men, who came within reach of her magic wand; and though you fortified yourself by stern resolutions not to come under this influence—not to show a weakness so incompatible with masculine dignity—"not to burn incense on any human shrine," as you forcibly stated it, yet you did, in time, have to yield a very little to the magician's spell. However, any little weakness, any little foolish notion, such as the enfranchisement of women, which you acquired from Margaret's teachings, has long since been bravely overcome. You need no longer have any fear of being taunted as a champion of "Woman's Rights." Should such fears ever disturb you, you can at once attribute them to their real cause—an overdose of bran bread and oats—one oat too many, Horace, causing a vagary of the imagination, or rather of the stomach. No man can now stand up and charge you with wishing to treat woman "as a rational, human being, entitled to a voice in shaping the laws by which she is governed"—"as a *soul*, responsible to God and humanity, and not as a mere body, devoted to the unreasoning service of her husband." Such a charge would be a foul calumny, and you would be fully justified in hurling at the offender's head the epithet "liar." No, these accusations can no longer be laid at your door—"that mob's flout is hushed"—let them have hereafter no occasion to revive it—don't go back to your first love—but in legislative hall or constitutional convention, should you be so fortunate as to be sent to another, firmly resist all attempts to bring women up from a state of subjection into that of reasoning, responsible human beings; keep them quietly in that submissive position most pleasing to men (I say men, for between you and me, Horace, the part the Almighty has played in human governments has been infinitesimally small); let them continue to vote by proxy—but never be punished by proxy—never be hung nor taxed by proxy—and always let them form one half the basis of representation—for this, while giving no influence nor voice to women (which would be all wrong and in direct opposition to the will of man), swells the number of our masculine legislators and thus ensures justice and harmony in the working of our laws. And always when you speak of women, name the

children directly after them—always class women and children together—it serves to blunt the edge of your opponents' weapons; besides your position will be legally (and thus doubly) fortified in so doing, for the law, you know, has always classed them together—women, children and idiots—a sort of triangle of imbecility. You see how beautifully this whole system works, don't you, Horace? It is run by masculine hands, and in masculine interest entirely—neither God nor woman has any part in it. And why should they have? It would make it very awkward and inconvenient, in many cases, to bring them into the partnership. How long after their admission would rum-drinking, and gambling dens, and houses of prostitution continue?—those institutions that have always flourished so vigorously under the masculine regime? To say nothing of other cities, our senators and representatives in Washington alone, would all be clamorous for a return to the ancient regime. Such unlimited freedom do they all enjoy, in these respects, that the capitol of the nation itself is fast becoming a brothel. Early last spring, Judge H., of Connecticut, went to Chief-Justice Chase, and asked him why he didn't use his influence to clean out the nest of a certain government official who had had a bed-room nicely fitted up in the capitol for the entertainment of his Dulcinea. "Oh," said the Chief-Justice, "there is no use in stirring him up; he is the best of all of them—he has only one lewd woman, while the rest, senators and representatives, and other officials, have two, three and four, and some of them half a dozen!"

Now, if the seventeen millions of women in this country had the same power in the government that men have, would they quietly submit to this condition of things? We cannot reasonably expect it. So if you wish to maintain men's present glorious freedom from restraint—to preserve the present unruffled surface of our political sea—do all you can to resist the introduction of such an element of discord as the vote of woman. Even the debates on the floor of Congress would have to be modified if women were members of that body. The Boston Post was wrong when it said, "If the Globe prints all the debates in the House it will be indicted under the statute against obscene publications," for it will never be indicted for such things under masculine legislation—it probably would be under feminine. Why, you couldn't find more genuine freedom of speech in any pot-house in New York than is frequently witnessed right on the floors of Congress. Didn't you read the exhilarating debate between Donnelly and Washburne? No better illustration could be afforded of the perfect freedom we enjoy under masculine rule—full liberty for Members of Congress to bring all their little personal matters up and air them before the nation. And not only that, they can appear there drunk or sober, as they please. A large number of them are in the former condition a good share of the time. To be sure, this makes it rather inconvenient when any important vote is to be taken, for then the sober ones have to be set to watch the inebriated ones, sometimes even having to lock them up in their rooms, thus securing them for the important occasion—but then the advantages of this unrestrained freedom are greater than the disadvantages. Sometimes they get so gloriously happy that they cut pigeon-wings and pirouettes in very primitive garments before the assembled guests in the dining-rooms of their hotels. A few months since an M.C. came out of the capitol and got into a car in which I happened to be sitting. He had to be steadied up the steps, but when he had got in he could stand alone by putting one hand against the side of the car. Tobacco juice was running down the sides of his mouth, and his nose needed wiping, which didn't seem to disturb him much. He occasionally used his coat sleeve, if it became too troublesome. He appeared to be experimenting on the number of oaths he could utter in a given time. When I left, the maximum was about twenty-five a minute. Now what a fine illustration of the freedom of our country! This man was fresh from the councils of the nation. He was there every day in a similar condition, and others also—and are now, but this doesn't limit their freedom to come and go, and legislate for the nation, and over all this, how fitting that the Genius of Liberty should rise to crown the dome! True, she is of the feminine gender, but that is the fault of ancient mythology which personified Liberty as a woman. The emblem would certainly be more truthful and appropriate to have a masculine Genius, with a woman sitting at his feet. That would represent the true relation of the sexes. Women are a subject class—are totally unfit for liberty—man never intended she should have it, and it is the height of absurdity to personify it in her form—but as the pagans have made this emblem a fixture apparently for all time, we must submit to it.

Another bad result of woman's obtaining a power in the government would be a visible decrease in the popu-

lation. Read the following telegraphic item that appeared in the daily papers last January:

"One thousand seven hundred and twenty-three infants who had been thrown away by their parents were picked up in the streets of New York last year, of which number 749 now fill the childrens' nurseries on Randall's Island."

Should women get the reins into their own hands would they be so simple as not to alter a state of things that makes the production of bastards necessary to the obtaining of daily bread? Would they not legislate equal pay for equal work with men? Money is a mighty power behind all thrones, domestic, as well as royal, and when women have as much power in this direction as men have, the latter will lose a powerful hold upon them. Don't you see, Horace? I think you can discern the sun at noon-day, even without the aid of your glasses, as well as any other man. However, you probably don't need any strengthening in your present noble position—that of maintaining womankind under the thumb of mankind—but the question is so important I could not resist the temptation of saying a few words. You have dealt this bad cause some splendid blows within the past few years. You defeated it in Kansas. A friend can always deal more powerful blows—can do far more injury than an enemy—he has a purchase which an enemy can never obtain—and as you had always been looked upon as a warm supporter of the cause—by earnestly advocating it in your paper during the Kansas campaign, you would have carried along with you all those classes who never have any opinions of their own, but always look to certain journals, or leaders, to manufacture them for them. Like a string of sheep, they follow the leader wherever he may see fit to take them. Fortunately, in this cause you valiantly pioneered the way on the right track.

F. E. B.

SURELY, woman never fulfills her true mission, or fulfills her true sphere, if not when, as wife and mother, by her wise provision and rule she brings happiness to her husband and household, and shapes the character of her children to the highest ends of life. But woman, mingling in the angry strife of politics, and dragging her skirts in its polluting mire, is not consistent with such a conception as this.—N. J. Judiciary Committee.

Considering that Mrs. Dives Grundy, who is clad in purple and fine linen (not to mention silk, satin, and a hundred ornaments and draperies which people "didn't know down in Judee"), fares sumptuously every day, and cries out loudest against "women who leave their sphere," drags her skirts through the polluting mire of Broadway, while the advocates of Woman's Rights adopt the clean, economical, short walking skirts, it is not easy to see the propriety of the suggestion that they would mire their skirts more in politics than in puddle.

J. K. H. WILCOX.

SUBAN ANTHONY says woman is going ahead. All right; ladies should not be compelled to go afoot.—N. Y. Express.

We are not—we have taken the Train!

MEDICAL EDUCATION FOR WOMEN.—Ladies interested in the medical education of women are invited to attend a discussion of the best method of instruction, at the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, 126 Second Avenue, on Friday, 3d inst., at 3 p.m.

E. BLACKWELL, M.D.

Financial Department.

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THE REVOLUTION.

NO. XXVI.

Talk among the Brokers in Wall Street.

THE talk among the brokers is the audacity which the bull cliques have run up their stocks from 15 to 25 per cent. within the last sixty days, and that they have succeeded during the last fortnight in unloading quite handsomely at high prices on the street and outsiders. The talk is that

HENRY KEEP

is a lucky dog, for he has got rid of nearly all his MICHIGAN SOUTHERN AND NORTH WEST COMMON, and is in good trim and spirits for SMASHING BOTH MICHIGAN SOUTHERN AND NORTH WEST

common with sales short, which he will soon commence to make. The talk is that the

KEEP PARTY

when they have unloaded, will take a short line and BEAR MICHIGAN SOUTHERN DOWN TO 60, AND NORTH WEST COMMON TO 50.

The talk is that Henry Keep thinks this can be done pretty soon, and on an easy money market it would

FRIGHTEN THE STREET

and outsiders into fits. The talk is that

RUFUS HATCH HAS BEEN STICKING

all his friends in the West and here, with

MICHIGAN SOUTHERN AND NORTH WEST

stocks on big yarns about the great earnings of the roads and what the clique was going to do with them, but

CHAPLAIN HATCH, THE RUEFUL,

forgot to remind his confiding friends, that last year NORTH WEST PREFERRED TUMBLED FROM 83 TO 56 within the space of a few days, and the enormous earnings that the

CHAPLAIN TALKS ABOUT

were going ahead all the same. Chaplain Hatch, the Rueful, must take care that he don't stick his friends so badly with

MICHIGAN SOUTHERN AND NORTH WEST,

unless

KEEP COMES DOWN

handsomely, because that will lead to a magnificent scarcity of customers in the

RUEFUL CHAPLAIN'S

magnificent offices. The talk is that

TOBIN HAS GOT AN ELEPHANT

on his hands in

PACIFIC MAIL,

that he has run the price up so high, that he has tempted the company to spare him kindly some of its reserved stock, and that

TOBIN

has been made to buy when he wanted to sell, in order to keep the price from breaking down. The talk is that the

PRESIDENT OF PACIFIC MAIL

and his stock-jobbing friends are

BEARS IN PACIFIC MAIL,

and that the company will be glad to

SELL ALL ITS RESERVED STOCK

at par, in order to raise money to fight Webb's opposition. The talk is that the

AMERICAN REINDEER,

on his native "Heath," is

SELLING ERIE LIKE FURY FOR UNCLE DANIEL DREW, and is borrowing all the stock he can to make it scarce, for Uncle Daniel says that he believes "in always letting the boys have this 'ere Erie whenever they are hungry for it," and that

AARON AND THE GOLDEN CALF

and the Synagogue on Murray Hill, and that

BOSTON CHAP, ELDRIDGE,

and Taylor's Hotel, and that funny dog, the circus

DANCER JIMMY,

have cost him a deal of money first and last, which he has got to get out of the boys somehow pretty soon.

UNCLE DANIEL SAYS

that the

AMERICAN REINDEER

is doing first rate, that he is making the

STOCK AWFUL SCARCE,

and sticking the boys with piles of Erie at 71, which the critters wouldn't touch at 68. Uncle Daniel says, "them 'ere Wall Street critters are a queer lot," and whenever they want rope to hang themselves with, it is the duty of a

METHODIST JEW,

in the name of

AARON AND THE GOLDEN CALF,

to let the critters have it. Uncle Daniel says when the

AMERICAN REINDEER HAS STUCK THE BOYS

handsomely, that he means to give a superb private supper, with this 'ere new Parisian

CAN CAN AND OTHER FIXINS.

The talk is that

FRANK WORK -

makes his headquarters at

VAN SCHAICK'S,

the eminent banker and bosom friend of

BARON ROTHSCHILD,

in Broad street, and that

VAN SCHAICK IS BLAZING

away and selling Erie for the

COMMODORE VANDERBILT PARTY,

and at the same time borrowing it "flat," so as to

HUMBLED THE STREET

with the notion that it is short stock, and that there is an awful short interest; and as

UNCLE DANIEL SAYS

that "there ain't nohow enough of this 'ere Erie to go round the boys." The talk is that

DREW AND VANDERBILT

are wide awake, and know that the money market is not going to be easy at three per cent. for ever; that they see

BREAKERS AHEAD,

and have hit upon this plan to sell their Erie by borrowing the stock from all they can through

WILLIAM HEATH AND CO., AND VAN SCHAICK,

that Uncle Daniel and the Commodore are

HARD AT WORK SELLING

everything they can on this easy money market; that they are providing themselves with greenbacks, as they are easier and more profitable to carry than

NEW YORK CENTRAL AND ERIE

in a tight money market.

The talk is that

WOODWARD AND SCOTT CAPRON

are running

READING TO DEATH,

and that

SMITH, MARTIN & CO., AND LORD CORNWALLIS, are coming it a little too strong when they talk about Reading being cheap above par, when everybody knows that the stock is

WATERED ABOUT NINETY PER CENT.,

with scrip dividends, and that it has only been able to pay a dividend in cash now and then. The talk is that it is very funny that

LORD CORNWALLIS

should run down every stock on the list

EXCEPT READING,

and crack up that as cheap, and swear that the price has been advanced by the purchases for investment, when all the street knows that the

READING MOVEMENT

is one of the

WEAKEST STOCK BUBBLES

engineered by the weakest and most reckless of stock gamblers. The talk is that

LORD CORNWALLIS'S

valuable property in Reading, and the

PITTSBURG DIRECTOR'S "QUARTERLY"

dividends are the two

HUGEST JOKES

of the season, and do credit to the facetious dogs that originated them. The talk is that the

BANKS AND MONEY-LENDERS

are urging the cliques to

SELL AND REALIZE

all they can, and to take up their loans with them before August, as the

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

is going to unsettle things, and that the

SOUTH AND WEST

will drain New York of an immense deal of currency this fall to move the crops, as the West is unusually bare of money, and the South has got none at all. The talk is that the

EXPRESS STOCKS

are the greatest bubble on the market; that

WELLS, FARGO & CO.

are like a well-squeezed lemon, and that

LOUIS M'LANE,

the President, has prudently resigned and skedaddled out of the way to California, before the developments are made public of the condition of the company. The talk is that the

MERCHANT'S UNION DIRECTORS BARNEY

and the other managers of the different companies are cramming the market with all the express stocks that it will take, and that nothing but the immense short interest keeps them from tumbling down to very low figures.

THE MONEY MARKET

is easy at 3 to 4 per cent. on call, and 5 to 6 per cent. on prime discounts. The weekly bank statement shows increased bank expansion, the loans being \$2,386,428 more than those of last week, the deposits \$2,817,820, and the legal tenders \$1,285,721. The specie is decreased \$1,371,530, and the total \$7,753,300 is the smallest held by the banks this year. Bank expansion has probably reached its highest point.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks compared with the preceding week:

	June 20th	June 27th	Differences.
Loans,	\$274,117,608	\$276,504,936	Inc. \$2,386,428
Specie,	9,124,830	7,753,300	Dec. \$1,371,530
Circulation,	34,119,120	34,048,721	Dec. 70,399
Deposits,	211,484,387	214,302,207	Inc. 1,817,820
Legal-tenders,	72,567,582	73,853,303	Inc. 2,817,820

THE GOLD MARKET

has been firm throughout the week, owing to the scarcity, as high as $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per day having been paid for loan of large amounts. The price has ranged from 140 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 140. The July disbursements by the Assistant Treasury will decrease the lending rates, and stimulate the exports of specie.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Saturday, 20,	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$
Monday, 22,	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tuesday, 23,	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140	140 $\frac{1}{2}$

Wednesday, 24,	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$
Thursday, 25,	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$
Friday, 26,	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140	140 $\frac{1}{2}$
Saturday, 27,	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140	140 $\frac{1}{2}$
Monday, 29,	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	140	140 $\frac{1}{2}$

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

is quiet, but rates remain steady, as commercial bills are scarce and bankers must look to cover only with specie or bonds. Bonds, with the exception of the 10-40's, could not be shipped to Europe at a profit for a fortnight past. The quotations are bankers sixty days sterling, 110 to 110 $\frac{1}{2}$, and sight 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 110 $\frac{1}{2}$. Francs on Paris long 5.13 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 5.12 $\frac{1}{2}$; and short, 5.11 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 5.10.

THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

has been more active, and prices have advanced in the clique stocks, while the rest of the market has been without change. The movement is the result of the combined workings of the bull cliques; and as usual outsiders have been heavy buyers at the advanced quotations. Scrip and non-dividend paying railway shares, like Erie, Reading, Michigan Southern, North-West Common and Preferred and New York Central, have been run up from 15 to 25 per cent. within the last sixty days by clique manipulations, while the "unwatered" sound stocks, like the Toledo and Wabash Preferred and Common, have remained steady. The miscellaneous list remains dull and neglected, notwithstanding the efforts of the cliques to make them active. The market is in a dangerous condition, and liable to break on any day. Shrewd holders are sellers and not buyers at present quotations. Pacific Mail is dull and heavy, and the company has been selling some of its reserved stock at the high prices engineered by speculators.

Musgrave & Co., 19 Broad street, report the following quotations:

Canton, 49 to 50; Boston W. P., 18 to 20; Cum. Coal, 33 to 34 $\frac{1}{2}$; Quicksilver, 23 to 24 $\frac{1}{2}$; Mariposa, 4 to 5; do. preferred, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 9; Pacific Mail, 101 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 101 $\frac{1}{2}$; Atlantic Mail, 30 to 33; W. U. Tel., 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 34 $\frac{1}{2}$; New York Central, 134 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 135; Erie, 69 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 69 $\frac{1}{2}$; do. preferred, 75 to 75 $\frac{1}{2}$; Hudson River, 140 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 141 $\frac{1}{2}$; Reading, 105 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 105 $\frac{1}{2}$; Wabash, 48 to 48 $\frac{1}{2}$; Mil. & St. P., 66 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 66 $\frac{1}{2}$; do. preferred, 78 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 78 $\frac{1}{2}$; Fort Wayne, 111 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 112; Ohio & Miss., 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 30; Mich. Cen., 117 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 119; Mich. South, 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 92; Ill. Central, 157 to 158; Pittsburg, 89 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 89 $\frac{1}{2}$; Toledo, 104 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 104 $\frac{1}{2}$; Rock Island, 104 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 104 $\frac{1}{2}$; North Western, 71 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 71 $\frac{1}{2}$; do. preferred, 78 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 78 $\frac{1}{2}$.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES

have been dull throughout the week, owing to the investment demand being confined to buyers of small amounts. The Border State Bonds and Railway Mortgages have been unusually active. The Central Pacific Bonds have been selling freely at 103 and interest, and it is likely the company will soon advance the price to 105. The Union Pacific are selling at 102 and interest. Both these bonds are principal and interest payable in gold, and 6 per cent. gold interest equal to about 8 per cent. in currency. The Rockford Rock Island and St. Louis Railway Company Bonds are selling freely at 95, as they are a first-class security, principal and interest payable in gold coin, and 7 per cent. interest in gold equal to over 10 per cent. in currency. They are secured by some of the best coal lands in the State of Illinois, besides the railroad franchises and property, and are issued at only \$25,000 to the mile. The bonds are payable either in London or New York at the option of the holder, and they have the privilege of conversion into the stock of the company, which will, without doubt, prove to be as valuable as that of Illinois Central or Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, owing to the valuable coal lands which the company owns and works.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

Reg. 1881, 113 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 113 $\frac{1}{2}$; Coupon, 117 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 118; Reg. 5-20, 1862, 109 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 109 $\frac{1}{2}$; Coupon, 5-20, 1862, 113 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 113 $\frac{1}{2}$; Coupon, 5-20, 1864, 101 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 111 $\frac{1}{2}$; Coupon, 5-20, 1865, 111 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 111 $\frac{1}{2}$; Coupon, 5-20, 1865, Jan. and July, 114 to 114 $\frac{1}{2}$; Coupon, 5-20, 1867, 114 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 114 $\frac{1}{2}$; Coupon, 1868, 110 to 110 $\frac{1}{2}$; Reg. 10-40, 106 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 107 $\frac{1}{2}$; Coupon, 10-40, 107 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 107 $\frac{1}{2}$; June, 7-30, 109 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 110 $\frac{1}{2}$; July, 7-30, 109 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 110 $\frac{1}{2}$; August Compounds, 1865, 118 $\frac{1}{2}$; September Compounds, 1865, 118; October Compounds, 117 $\frac{1}{2}$.

THE CUSTOMS DUTIES

for the week were \$1,605,958 in gold against \$1,866,870 last week, \$1,690,144, and \$1,905,007 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were \$5,263,829 in gold against \$4,465,888, \$5,013,

085, and \$4,259,340 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were \$2,670,477 in currency against \$2,359,561, \$2,546,370 and \$2,692,824 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were \$2,530,134 against \$1,890,532, \$2,967,321 and \$3,575,594 for the preceding weeks.

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